The Outlook

FEBRUARY 22, 1922

THE DILEMMA IN THE BONUS

IF money is to be paid, either as a further compensation or as a free gift without thought of compensation, to the men who served in the American Army during the war, it cannot be snatched from the air. Even if the money is immediately secured by a bond issue or is taken from the sums which may be paid to the United States by the debtor nations of Europe, the burden upon the taxpayer will be only postponed; it will not be removed. If the money is to be raised by bonds, those who lend the money by buying the bonds will ultimately have to be repaid out of taxes; and if the money is paid from the amounts owed to the United States, it means that the tax burden which those amounts might lighten will remain unrelieved.

If the people of this country were convinced that the payment of a bonus to each of the men who served in the war was the best use that could be made of the money, there would be no complaint. The pressure upon Congress to pass a bonus bill has been met, however, by a pressure in the contrary direction. As soon as it was plain that a bonus bill meant more taxes, protests began to flood Congress.

A number of suggestions for the necessary taxes were made. Among them the following:

Form of Tax	Estimated Yield
(1) A tax of 2½ per cent of the undivided profits of corporations	$20,000,000
(2) A parcel post tax of 1 cent on each twenty-five cent value and fraction thereof	20,000,000
(3) An increase of the tobacco tax (50 cents a thousand on cigarettes, and 2 cents on smoking and chewing tobacco)	30,000,000
(4) A two-cent stamp tax on bank checks	30,000,000
(5) A stamp check on receipts and similar documents	40,000,000
(6) Five dollars per $1,000 on real estate transfers	50,000,000
(7) Twenty-five cents per horsepower on automobiles	50,000,000
(8) An increase of the present two-cent letter stamp to three cents	70,000,000
(9) Doubling the present 10 per cent tax on theater tickets	70,000,000
(10) A tax on coffee, sugar, and tea	70,000,000
(11) One cent a gallon on gasoline	70,000,000
(12) A tax of 1/10 of 1 per cent on stock and bond transfers	70,000,000
(13) A doubling of the present inheritance tax	150,000,000
(14) A tax on light wines and beer, not exceeding 2.75 per cent of alcohol	500,000,000
(15) A sales tax	1,000,000,000

Against each of these taxes some group of taxpayers has directed its forces. For example, the tax on automobiles and gasoline would bear heavily upon the farmers, who are dependent more than ever before on their "flivvers" and their gasoline tractors, and are less able than ever to pay their present taxes. The tax on light wines and beer is of course opposed by the supporters of strict prohibition, for such a tax would involve relaxing the prohibitory laws.

Of all the taxes the most practicable seems to be the sales tax; but because that is very widely distributed it would arouse widespread opposition. Its very merit creates a difficulty.

In a long speech in the Senate Mr. Borah, of Idaho, discussed the bonus on Monday of last week. He estimated the cost of providing properly for the disabled soldiers alone as ultimately amounting to at least seventy-five thousand million dollars, and declared that any bonus to men of sound mind and body would cripple the Government's power to provide for the disabled. Moreover, he argued with force that to prevent, or even retard, the recovery of agriculture and commerce in this country by means of imposing new burdens upon agriculture and commerce would be to do a greater injury to the men asking for the bonus than any benefit which they might derive from it.

Perhaps men who went overseas and came back to find that in their absence some of their neighbors who escaped military service prospered, while they themselves lost their jobs, their energy, and their hope, will not be quick to respond to Senator Borah's appeal that "the situation which confronts this country at this time is more perilous and requires more consideration and more sacrifice at the hands of these young men than the distressful days in which they were in the camp;" but they may be led to realize that in asking for the bonus they are asking for something which will ultimately work to their own injury by preventing or greatly postponing the end of this period of unemployment, and they may be affected by the fact that what they ask for would inevitably lessen the power of the Government to do what it ought to do for their "buddies" who were wounded.

MOB VIOLENCE A FEDERAL OFFENSE

THE House of Representatives has passed the Anti-Lynching Act already described in The Outlook. The strongest thing the opponents of the law seem to have found to say against it is expressed by the New York "World" when it declares that the bill would never have passed the House if it had not been that its opponents had no reason for voting against it because they knew that it was unconstitutional.

This kind of thing is easier to say than to prove. We have, on the one hand, a declaration by the New York "World" that the Dyer Bill is unconstitutional. On the other hand, it is stated by the friends of the bill that its constitutionality has been recognized by the Department of Justice through Judge Goff and by Attorney-General Daugherty, and that the House Committee on the Judiciary was convinced that the bill is Constitutional and so declared.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the one and only authority on this subject, and the "World," like other people, might well await its decision before settling the matter offhand.

The bill provides fines or imprisonment for persons convicted in Federal courts of taking part in any act of mob violence which leads to the death of the person attacked; it forbids and penalizes also any interference with an officer protecting a prisoner from lynching; it penalizes the act of an official who fails to do his duty in preventing a lynching. It goes further also in providing penalties against States, counties, or towns which fail to use all reasonable effort to protect citizens against mob violence.

That lynching is a National, and not a local, offense may be argued from the fact that the reputation of the country at large suffers from acts of violence and barbarism. The Republican leader in the House said, "The finger of scorn of other nations is pointed at us for not taking steps to check . . . such frightful and atrocious crimes as burning at the stake." It is well also to remember that the usual emotional argument in favor of lynching, namely, that it is punishment for attacks upon women, loses most of its force when it is known that such offenses are, and have been for many years, responsible for less than a third of the total lynchings and that not a few of even the burnings alive were for quite different offenses.

The ultimate way out from such a condition of affairs as this is through education and character building, but in the meanwhile we may well ask whether the States in which lynching most often

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occurs are doing their best in education.

THE NEW HAGUE COURT

THE first sitting of the Permanent International Court of Justice has taken place. It occurred at The Hague in the Peace Palace, erected by the gift of Andrew Carnegie.

The first question to be settled was that of an election of a President. It was decided that not only the eleven judges elected last September by the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations, but also four supplementary judges should participate in this election. The eleven judges are:

Viscount Finlay, formerly Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

André Weiss, Member of the Institute of France.

Commendatore Dionisio Anzilotti, Professor of International Law at the University of Rome.

Rafael Altamira, Senator of Spain and one of the original draftsmen of the fundamental statute of the new tribunal.

Ruy Barbosa, Brazilian statesman and law professor.

Max Huber, jurisconsult to the Swiss Government in international affairs.

B. T. C. Loder, member of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands and an eminent authority on maritime law.

Didrik Galtrup Gjedde Nyholm, of Denmark, President of the Mixed Court of Cairo, Egypt.

Yorozu Oda, Professor of International Law at the University of Kyoto, Japan.

John Bassett Moore, former Councilor of our Department of State.

The four deputy judges are:

Demetriu Negulesku, of Rumania, delegate to the League of Nations.

C. W. Wang, President of the Chinese Supreme Court.

Nikhaile Jovanovich, of Jugoslavia.

Frederik Valdemar Nikolai Beichmann, of Norway.

These judges, chosen by the representatives of the fifty-one nations in the League, are to preside over a Court always open to settle disputes on the basis of law and justice rather than on that of diplomatic expediency. Moreover, the Court will be open not only to members of the League of Nations, but also to all states invited to join the League.

PRESIDENT LODER

NATURALLY, the first invitation to an American to become one of the Hague judges was to Elihu Root, who may indeed be called the father of the Court. It was he who gave the project its first impetus at the Second Hague Conference. He was then Secretary of State. According to his instructions to our delegates at the Conference, he would change the old so-called "Permanent Court of Arbitration," erected by the First Hague Conference (which was really neither "permanent" nor a "court"), into a real court of justice, to be always open, and to settle cases, not as subjects for diplomatic arbitral negotiations, but as cases to be judged solely by the strict application of rules of international law. The Second Hague Conference approved the project and established a court in all details with the exception of the choosing of judges. This detail has now been settled by Mr. Root, who, in his position on the committee of jurists chosen by the League of Nations to establish the new Court, succeeded in providing that the judges should be chosen by the Assembly and the Council of the League. Of course Mr. Root was asked to be one of the eleven judges. At his declination the invitation went to John Bassett Moore, a foremost American authority in international law.

Keystone

MAHATMA GANDHI

Dr. Loder was appropriately elected President of the new Court. He will receive an annual salary of 15,000 florins (normally a Dutch florin is worth about forty cents) plus an allowance of 45,000 florins, while the other ten judges each draw 15,000 florins annually plus an allowance of 20,000 florins. These salaries are borne by the League of Nations.

The judges are to appear in black-velvet robes, lined with black silk, with the collars trimmed with ermine. They will wear black-velvet berettas, similar to those worn by the judges of French courts.

The new Court will, we do not doubt, do two things; it will define what constitutes international law, and it will apply fairly and fearlessly the principles of right and justice.

UNREST IN INDIA

WHAT is the difference between "non-violent, non-co-operation" and "civil disobedience"? Mahatma Gandhi recently changed the first formula to the second in his propaganda for a larger share of self-government by the native people of India. The first formula indicates non-resistance or at the most passive resistance. Does the second go further? It certainly was so interpreted by the British authorities, for the India Office on February 7, according to Associated Press despatches, issued an official communication indicating "that it was the intention of the Government to adopt stern measures to suppress the campaign of civil disobedience in India" and adding that "no Government could discuss, much less accept, the demands contained in the recent manifesto of Mahatma K. Gandhi, the Indian Nationalist leader."

Both phrases have unquestionably been used by Gandhi, although the second has been variously quoted as "civil disobedience" and "civic disobedience." Whether rightly or not, this has been interpreted by the Secretary for India, Mr. Montagu, as revolution, not evolution, and he laments that the people of India should think they could get self-government by revolution. At the same time, it is reassuring to note, the Secretary for India declares that the British Government is in favor of "swaraj" (the term used by the agitators for self-government), but points out that to obtain the same kind of self-government that Canada has means to gain the same ability and restraint, and that this must be a gradual process.

The situation has changed definitely and hopefully since this utterance by a responsible representative of the British Government. It had been generally reported that the arrest of Gandhi had been ordered, on the ground that his new plan of civil disobedience involved encouragement of violence. The fact that now in India there is an alliance between Mohammedan revolutionary teachers and Buddhist revolutionary teachers had caused some fear as to the outlook. Wisely and sensibly, however, Gandhi immediately announced that he had decided to abandon his programme of civil disobedience for the present at least. As this decision was based on disapproval of two or three recent outbreaks of violence, in one of which seventeen native policemen were killed, it may be taken to indicate that Gandhi's real feeling is still toward a

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GENTLEMEN, LET'S LOOK TO OUR BUSINESS

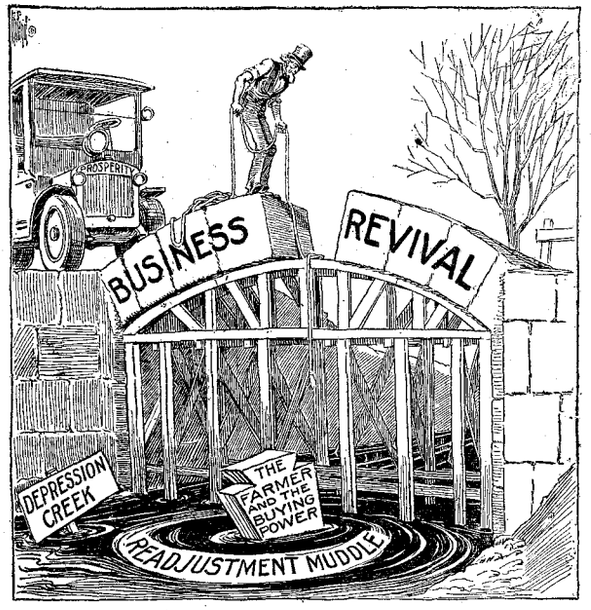
(Othello, Act II, Scene 3)

Steele in the Denver Post

THOSE FELLOWS SAY I'M UNAMERICAN AND DANGEROUS!
THE FARM BLOC
WALL ST.
THE INTEREST
UNCLE SAM—"I'LL NEVER SEE THE TIME I CAN'T TRUST THE AMERICAN FARMER!!"

From Myrtle Phelps, Picabo, Idaho

Ireland in the Columbus Dispatch



WE MUST RESTORE THE KEYSTONE

From Miss Carolyn Bowen, Columbus, Ohio

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger

• UNDISTURBED

From Frederick Eissler, Philadelphia, Pa.

Perry in the Portland Oregonian

YOU'RE WELCOME, BUT FIRST TIE YOUR PET OUTSIDE

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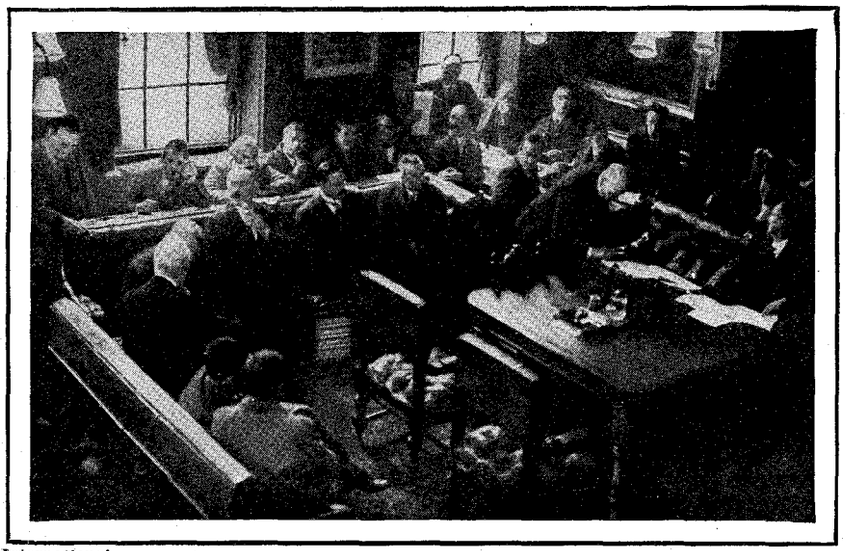

International

THE DAIL EIREANN OF THE "IRISH REPUBLIC" (SINN FEIN) IN SESSION IN THE MANSION HOUSE IN DUBLIN, SIGNING THE RATIFICATION OF THE PEACE TREATY THAT MADE IRELAND A FREE STATE. ARTHUR GRIFFITH MAY BE SEEN SEATED AT THE LEFT CENTER (INSIDE THE INCLOSED SECTION)

non-resisting, peaceful remonstrance rather than for violence or active disobedience of the Government.

An excellent statement about the Indian situation was made lately by Dr. Shastri, of the University of Calcutta. In a lecture at Princeton, he said:

> I favor a continuation of association with England. India must learn the art of government and administration. To separate suddenly from the Empire would be suicide. India needs an evolution of national character. Before I went to Canada I did not understand what was meant by a dominion within the Empire. Why, Canada has the highest kind of self-government. She is a free country in every sense of the word. Such a free country would I see India.
>
> I have a strong faith in British statesmanship. In my opinion, India cannot entirely exercise self-government under present conditions, as there would be mob rule.

TURMOIL IN IRELAND

THE present state of things in Ireland might make even an optimist believe what one pessimist has said: that the Irish, Protestant and Catholic, those who favor a republic and those who believe in the Irish Free State, all are too prone to use their passions rather than their brains. As we write Great Britain is retarding the withdrawal of troops from Southern Ireland and is strengthening her forces in Ulster to protect the border from forays by her unneighborly neighbors to the south; forces of the Irish Free State are drawn up on their side of the division line; men of Ulster have been captured and carried south over the border.

All this turmoil and danger is said to have begun with what should have been a trifle—the arrest of some ardent Sinn Feiners who attended a football game in Belfast with revolvers in their pockets. They were arrested for carrying concealed weapons, and their excited fellow-patriots in the south demanded their immediate release and, without waiting to see what would happen, began sporadic guerrilla warfare. The incident is nothing; the real cause of this trouble is that sectional hatred which seems stronger now than even before. The prospect for a harmonious, united, single Ireland is not promising.

Add to the other troubles of Ireland the strong support that De Valera seems to be gaining in his reasonless agitation for a republic and nothing but a republic, and the situation seems to have portentous indications of possible civil war in the south, as well as sectional war in the northeast. It has been pointed out that De Valera's own substitute treaty (the one that he tried to get his own southern Parliament to demand in place of the agreement at London) did not contain even the word republic, nor anything that meant republic. His followers are emotionalists and lovers of strife rather than of concord and prosperity.

We have in this country just now a veteran in the struggle for true self-government in Ireland, Sir Horace Plunkett. We are extremely glad to see remarks in a recent address of his in New York which represented the view, not of an unreasoning optimist, but of a quiet and sensible lover of Ireland. Sir Horace said:

> There is nothing in any of these happenings to make us fear for the future of Ireland or to lead us to believe they will mar the course which the treaty has laid down. They are just the inevitable result of what Ireland has gone through in the past fifty years, during which time the fiercest political passions have been aroused in the Irish minds.

That Sir Horace is not pro-British in his view was indicated by two or three of his replies to questions on this occasion. One auditor asked him to tell "the difference between Casement and Carson." He instantly replied, "One they hanged and one they made a judge." He also declared that Carson represented a policy antagonistic to four-fifths of the Irish people. His belief in the ultimate unity of Ireland was vividly put in the sentence: "God made one Ireland, and Lloyd George proposed to make it two. We cannot have peace, progress, and prosperity in Ireland without unity."

THE ITALIAN CABINET AND THE ROMAN CHURCH

AT the moment of the Pope's election the Italian Cabinet falls. During recent months the tendency of Church and State in Italy to come together has increased. Thus the King decorated Cardinal Maffi with a high order—and he is the only prelate ever so honored. Certain mutual privileges have been recognized by the Vatican and the Italian Government. When Sigor Bonomi succeeded to power, he stated that the relations between Church and State were more promising. Although the Giolitti Cabinet contained three members from the Catholic (or Popular) party, the three of that party who entered the Bonomi Cabinet were more eminent and they occupied the important positions of Ministers of Justice, Agriculture, and Public Works.

The official visit of condolence of one of these Ministers, Signor Mauri, to the Vatican the day after Benedict XV's death aroused strong feeling among non-Catholics and anti-Catholics, which was strengthened by the announcement that in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate eulogies of the late Pope would be delivered by the Presidents of those bodies. The Opposition caused hesitation concerning the eulogies, and the Catholic party remonstrated as to any delay. The Cabinet was thus beset behind and before.

After reviewing the situation, Signor Bonomi decided to act as M. Briand had done in a similar exigency, and, without waiting for an adverse vote in the Chamber, resigned. The King has had much difficulty in inducing some one to take his place.

The fall of the Bonomi Cabinet may have been hastened also by the fear that the new Pope (who, like Cardinal Maffi, is accounted as very favorable to a *rapprochement* between Church and

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State) might over-emphasize the influence of the Church.

Before the Papal election the Italian Government announced that it would bring no influence to bear upon it. As to possible outside interference, Cardinals are forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to express a veto of any civil power (or even preference) either directly or indirectly, before or during the Conclave. This prohibition was one of Pius X's reforms. Before that a veto might under certain conditions be exercised by Austria, France, or Spain. This state of affairs had become an anachronism, just as is any insistence on the Pope's temporal power.

AN UNARMED PEACE

IF the agreements negotiated at Washington between the great world Powers are confirmed by the Governments concerned, they will make a fundamental change in international relations. No provision whatever is made for the enforcement of these agreements by military arms. On the contrary, simultaneously with these agreements is a pledge to reduce the navies on which nations have been wont to rely for the protection of their overseas possessions.

A recent issue of the "National Geographic Magazine" contains a map of the Pacific Ocean. It is dotted with islands as the heavens with stars. The whole ocean might be called an archipelago. These islands are owned by different Powers and inhabited by different races. The boundary-lines separating them run through the intervening ocean and are, of course, invisible. The representatives of the different Governments are not all wise, cautious, or considerate statesmen. The opportunities for controversies are numerous. The four Powers, America, Great Britain, Japan, and France, have agreed to respect one another's rights in this entire region, and if any controversies should arise between them or if their rights should be threatened by any other Power they will "communicate with one another fully and openly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient means to be taken, either jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." That this was not thought by any of the representatives at Washington to imply any use of force, jointly or separately, is perfectly clear from the following statement made by Senator Lodge to the Conference and accepted without objection:

> There is no provision for the use of force to carry out any of the terms of the agreement, and no military or naval sanction lurks anywhere in the background or under cover of their plain and distinct clauses.

If any are inclined to regard such an agreement as futile because no provision is made for its enforcement by an international force corresponding to the constables, sheriffs, and police maintained by all civil governments to enforce obedience to national law, they do not, we think, sufficiently consider the fact that there are in the modern state agreements which the law will not enforce, probably a great many more than those which it will enforce.

All promises by parents to children, most promises by wives to husbands and husbands to wives, nearly all social engagements of every description, all commercial promises for the delivery of property on the payment of money unless reduced to writing or accompanied by some transfer of money or goods, called in law a "consideration," are of this description. Probably public subscriptions to public charity could be collected by law, but they never are; possibly a public speaker who had promised to speak at a dinner or public meeting and failed to fulfill his promise could be sued for damages; but such suits are never heard of, though such failures are not uncommon. Amiel in a pregnant paragraph has made it very clear that modern society depends very largely on unenforceable promises:

> In every union there is a mystery—a certain invisible bond which must not be disturbed. This vital bond in the filial relation is respect; in friendship, esteem; in marriage, confidence; in the collective life, patriotism; in the religious life, faith.

The bonds which unite society are invisible. We are not galley slaves tied together by chains; we are freemen, united by moral bonds, by forces within, by regard for one another's interests and respect for one another's opinions. Can we trust to similar moral forces for the establishment and maintenance of international relations? The Washington Conference thinks the experiment well worth trying. We think the Washington Conference is right. We hope that the Senate will be of the same opinion.

It is true that the action of the Washington Conference in trusting to the national honor for the enforcement of international obligations is not unprecedented. At the close of the Civil War the United States demanded damages of Great Britain for her disregard of international law. The question was by mutual consent referred to arbitration. The Arbitral Court awarded damages. No international police force existed to collect them. None was necessary. Great Britain fulfilled her promise and paid the bill. It is true that if she had refused to do so the United States might have declared war against her; but it is also true that she would never have been guilty of so great an act of folly. Trusting to national honor to enforce international law is not wholly new; but the Washington Conference has carried that trust so much further than it has ever been carried before that it may fairly be said to have made a fundamental change in international relations and to have provided the basis of an unarmed peace.

Are we sure that civilization has made such progress that it is safe to trust national honor to enforce international law? No. We are not sure. Germany threw away her national honor for the doubtful tactical advantage of invading Belgium in order to attack France. Soviet Russia has openly avowed that faith is not to be kept with capitalistic nations. Turkey's history gives us no ground for faith in her promises. We ought not to trust Powers which have proved themselves untrustworthy. We ought to be cautious in trusting those Powers which have not proved themselves worthy of trust. But the past history of the Powers which have joined in the Washington Conference justifies a policy of mutual confidence. Certainly such a policy affords a far safer basis for international fellowship than the creation or any plan for the possible creation of an international military and naval force, whether permanent or temporary. Such a force large enough to compel one of the nations to submit to the will of the others would itself be provocative of suspicion and jealousy, whereas it is evident that the expression of international trust furnished by the action of the Conference has already done much to promote international peace and good will.

AN ATHLETIC TRAGEDY

TWO misguided communities recently entered into a contest for supremacy at professional football which has had a far-reaching and disastrous consequence. In their endeavors to win a game upon which a great number of bets had been placed the two communities bought the respective, and no longer respected, services of a majority of the football players upon the teams of the University of Illinois and of Notre Dame.

One or two players on a university team can sell their services without indicating that there is anything fundamentally wrong with the athletic spirit

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of the institution with which they have been affiliated. But when a group of players "go over to the enemy" in a body, surely those who have the good name of their institution at heart should go to the bottom of the matter at any cost. The guilty players have in the present instance been debarred from the honor of representing the universities they have disgraced, but until it has been made clear that the conditions which made their defection possible have been eradicated the names of the University of Illinois and of Notre Dame will not have been cleared.

Some of those who have attacked players of the type under discussion have made the mistake of inferring that there is something disgraceful in being a professional athlete. Of course such an inference is absurd. It is just as honorable to earn a living by one's physical prowess as it is to earn it in a broker's office or by one's pen. Nor is there anything inherently virtuous in the status of the amateur. It is character that counts and not the label when the question of honor is involved.

The element of dishonor enters the field when a player who is a professional masquerades as an amateur, an act which cannot be accomplished without lying, deception, and trickery. That this fact should not be recognized and understood by the athletic representatives of two such universities as Notre Dame and Illinois constitutes a tragic comment upon the effectiveness of our system of education. If ideals and morals are to be found anywhere, they ought to be found in our universities.

Let us hope that the conditions disclosed at Illinois and Notre Dame represent isolated outbreaks rather than any general lowering of college morale.

THE USE AND MISUSE OF THE BIBLE

AT almost the same time that I received a request for my opinion on the bill introduced into the Kentucky Legislature forbidding the teaching of evolution in schools supported by the State, treated in last week's *Outlook*, I received two letters, apparently from parents, dealing with the same subject, one of which reads as follows:

> Could Dr. Abbott give an article explaining how the theory of evolution can be reconciled to the Biblical account of creation in teaching young children? E. J. F.

I answer, By teaching them the nature and uses of the Bible.

A child grows up in the home and imbibes the impression that the Bible is an infallible authority upon all subjects. His religious teaching in the Church and the Sunday-school is fragmentary; no attempt is made to give him any systematic religious instruction. He therefore systematizes it for himself. The result is something like this:

Six thousand years ago God made the world. He made it in six days and launched it on its voyage. Since that time he has done nothing more to it except occasionally to interfere with its natural operation, as in the Deluge, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the crossing of the Red Sea. But that sort of thing he does not do any more. He made man perfect, as he made everything else perfect. But the first man disobeyed God, and all the disease and sin and misery in the world has resulted from that disobedience.

This child goes to school carrying some such idea as this with him. And before he gets through the high school he finds all secular teaching set on a different key. Life is progressive. Creation is continuous. As the tree grows by a progressive process from a seed, so the world has grown by a progressive process from chaos. As the man grows by a progressive process from the babe, so the race has grown by a progressive process from a prehistoric cradle. The child's religious impression has been that life is static, with occasional divine interventions. His entire system of school education is founded on the assumption that life is a continuous progress. There is no one to tell him that "evolution is God's way of doing things." And it will not be strange if he rejects the Bible which has never been interpreted to him, the Church which has never interpreted itself to him, and religion which he has come to regard as a bar, not an inspiration, to progress.

Paul says, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully." By the law he means the Old Testament law. The Bible is good if it is used for the purpose for which it was given. But it was not given to teach geology or zoölogy or anthropology or any other of the modern sciences. What is its legitimate use is very clearly defined in the Bible itself. It "is profitable . . . for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."

For reproof: Its stories furnish standards by which we can judge ourselves and see wherein we are wrong.

For correction: Its counsels furnish directions by which we can guide ourselves into right paths.

For instruction in righteousness: Its maxims are nuggets of spiritual wisdom; its biographies are dramatic illustrations of vices to be avoided and virtues to be emulated.

You can find better information as to the scientific *processes* of creation in Lyell's "Geology" or Darwin's "Descent of Man" than in the first chapter of Genesis; but nowhere a more illuminating illustration of the tragedy to which the spirit of lawless disobedience always leads than in the Garden of Eden story. Nowhere more concise and comprehensive interpretation of social morality than in the Ten Commandments, or more inspiring instruction in the nature and sources of personal righteousness than in the Sermon on the Mount. Probably nowhere in so short a compass the sorrowful end of the disappointed life of the profiteer in all ages as in the life of Jacob; certainly nowhere the story of a life so worthy of our reverent imitation as that of Jesus Christ, the model and the inspiration of Christendom for nineteen centuries.

The mother can render an invaluable service to her child if she can make herself acquainted with the spirit of modern education and can pursue the studies of her children with them as their intellectual companion. This is a far greater service to the world than any she can render by taking part in political reform or popular philanthropies. But if she cannot find or make the time, or has not the training, or cannot procure the books, she can at least study the Bible with her children and make it clear to them that it is not a book of science but a book of religious experience. If she is studying with them the first chapter of Genesis, when they have read together the eleventh verse, "And God said, let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind," they can go out and see in their garden God repeating this creative process. When they come to the second chapter and read that "God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul," she can explain to her children that this makes the difference between man and the cattle. The cattle are God's creatures, we are his offspring; and she can impart to them her own ambition to live as becomes the offspring of God.

If we use the Bible as a scientific authority, we misuse the Bible. We use it aright when we use its stories of spiritual disaster and spiritual achievement as warning, instruction, and inspiration for our own lives.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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RAILWAYS, COAL, AND A SUPER-UNION[1]

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON BY WILLIAM P. HELM, JR.

FAR back in the minds of the men who have led American labor to its present complex and effective form of organization for many years there has been this thought:

"Some day we shall unite the mine workers and the railway workers of the country into a great offensive and defensive alliance."

In England the workers formed not a dual, but a triple, alliance. The transport workers and the railway men's union joined fortunes with the miners. They pledged themselves to stand or fall together. The mightiest coalition of labor the world has ever seen resulted from this binding alliance; but it snapped when the test came. The three-way strike which was to have paralyzed industrial Britain and brought Lloyd George and his Cabinet to their knees broke on the rocks of dissension at the very hour it was to have become effective. The strike became a one-union strike—of coal miners. So fell, twenty months ago, the triple alliance in England, and in falling shattered hopes of a dual alliance in America.

But now these shattered hopes of labor are being rebuilt. On February 1 John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, officially addressed identical letters to the presidents of the sixteen major unions of railway employees asking them to meet with him for the purpose of forming such an alliance. His reasons for issuing the call are thus set forth in a telegram which he sent, several days afterward, to the writer of this article:

> The invitation issued by the mine workers to the officers of the sixteen major railroad organizations is intended solely for the purpose of organizing the ranks of labor to offset the gigantic attempt to reduce their earning capacity and, in consequence, lower their standard of living.
>
> The interests now combined in an assault on labor are not guided by the rule of fairness and give no consideration to the principles of equity and fair dealing to the workers. If they are determined, as they seem to be, to go on with their programme, then it is idle to bandy words. These interests are arbitrarily applying the elements of coercion and force, and the workers cannot permit themselves to be submissively slaughtered.
>
> There is no intent on the part of the sponsors of the economic alliance to dislocate industry or disturb the public tranquillity, but self-preservation is the first law of nature. The men employed in the mining and railroad industries should recognize their mutuality of interest.

Regardless of intent, an offensive and defensive alliance of these workers, if achieved, would hold the power to still within less days than there are fingers on one hand the wheels of every railway train, mill, and factory in the United States.

Lewis's call for a meeting to construct the super-union brings vividly to mind the contrast between conditions of thirty months ago, when the first actual step was taken toward coalition, and the present. One pictures the setting of that first move toward coalition:

It is a day in early September. The country is reeking with prosperity. Men talk superlatives, think in billions. Labor is in the saddle. The dollar is debased to half its normal worth. Any laborer can get his price, and his price is high.

The United Mine Workers of America are met in biennial convention in the city of Cleveland, home of the aristocracy of unionism, the railway brotherhoods. Packed in the big stone armory are more than two thousand delegates, hailing from every union coal field in the country.

The first of these comes forward, formally to welcome the delegates. In the impressive graying-haired figure the Convention recognizes the "Grand Old Man of the Brotherhoods," Warren L. Stone, Grand Chief of the Locomotive Engineers. They rise and cheer. He waves them to silence and the meeting is on.

He speaks for the brotherhoods. "We want," he says, "to be closer to you. We want to work in closer harmony with you than ever before. The time has come when, in solving these great economic questions, there is no class in labor. There is only one interest, and that is the man who toils for his bread."

Applause that mounts swiftly to tumult tells the temper of his audience.

So were conditions then. But now—

The country is faltering back from the slough of depression. Men thank God for their jobs—those who have them—and work to keep them. Labor with shriveled price-mark drugs the market. The dollar is a precious thing again. The unions are reeling from blows hammered with cruel frequency and effectiveness upon their inflated wage scales.

The miners of America are in desperate straits. Two hundred thousand are entirely out of work. As many more are working half-time or less. A wage contract is about to expire and slashing cuts confront them. Already the outer edges of the union have crumbled, now in Kentucky, now in West Virginia, now in the Southwest, under the pressure of the economic law that is working its downward way of revision in the pay envelope.

A call for a conference with mine-owners to work out a new wage scale has been answered with peremptory refusal to meet. The owners are posting their own wage scales, marking up on their bulletin boards the wages they will pay for this and that kind of work, without even so much as a hint of consultation with union leaders. There are two men for every job.

Will spring see a militant super-union at work to close the country's industries in the name of labor? Or a single-handed fight by the coal miners, itself terrible in its effect upon reviving industry? Or a clenched fist instead of the open hand? Or a half-hearted, withering strike of union miners, petering out in collapse of their magnificent organization?

One of these situations almost in certainty will come to pass. Which one? Hardly the coalition, we think; but the answer lies in the laps of the gods.

When Warren Stone spoke for harmony and close communion between the two great classes of workers, he proposed no new thing; but his proposal found quick response. Three days afterward, or September 12, 1919, the United Mine Workers adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this Convention instructs the resident officers and the International Executive Board to bring about such a conference with the railway workers' organizations for the purpose of formulating an alliance whereby the organized workers in these two great basic industries may act jointly on all matters of mutual interest . . . and on all matters where the interests of the workers in these industries may be advanced by joint action."

Meetings were held almost at once, as directed, but no effective plan of coalition was ever worked out. The idea lay dormant till the other day, when Lewis revived it.

Meantime the miners have been through a great strike to success, have tasted the bitter of a subsequent industrial depression, and have come to what looms as a fight for their existence as an organization; and the rail workers have gone from victory to victory down to wage cut after wage cut, with more cuts still in prospect. Both classes of workers have had almost parallel experience.

The time to the strike is short, however, and as this is written an effective coalition seems unlikely. Lewis probably spoke too late. Had he spoken two months ago, before the Government brought the railway labor leaders and the railway executives together to thresh out their differences, the pros-

[1] Since this article was written a meeting of delegates of the United Mine Workers and of delegates from the railway brotherhoods has been called to assemble at Chicago on February 21. It is announced that the aim is to secure some sort of an understanding or alliance between the coal and railway workers. Delegates from the miners' unions will also take part in the conference between railway delegates and delegates from farmers' and Socialists' bodies also going on at that time in Chicago.—THE EDITORS.

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pect for such a coalition as he proposed would be much brighter.

That is the way it looks now, but scenes shift swiftly in industrial America, and to-day's prospect is often changed to-morrow. Such a union as Lewis proposes would outrank anything else of its kind in size and power throughout the world.

The membership of such a union would approach the two and one-half million mark.

A super-union such as that would have power to put even the American Government to the supreme test.

A CONFERENCE OF RENUNCIATION

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK AT THE ARMAMENT CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

BETWEEN the first and last sessions of the Armament Conference the man whose invitation brought it to Washington, and whose spirit and purpose it was designed to embody, remained in the background. Not once did President Harding appear at its deliberations; not once did he attempt to direct its proceedings. As it opened he expressed in two speeches the hope of the Nation for what it might serve to accomplish; but he specified no task for it, he made no effort to control it, he did not even undertake to expound before it his own will. As it closed, he came before it, as he said, "to make acknowledgment" for what it had done, to outline its achievements, and to express gratitude to the participants; but neither expressly nor by inference did he take any credit to himself.

Now he has brought the treaties which the Conference has framed to the Senate. He has appraised their value, he has indicated the effect that they will have if adopted, he has described the spirit which they will promote among nations, he has set forth the ill consequences that would follow the failure to put that spirit into practice; but here again he has left himself out as even a factor in originating the plan or the idea of which the treaties are the product. On the contrary, ignoring himself, he stated as the distinction of this Conference that "the Senate—indeed, the Congress—has already advised in favor of one—and inferentially of two—of the treaties" and that "the naval pact negotiated and signed" is in accordance with the "expressed wish" of the Senate.

From not one word, from not a single act, of President Harding's is there any hint of the indisputable fact that the Conference stands apart from other Conferences because the philosophy which it has undertaken to apply to international affairs is what may properly be called the Harding philosophy—the philosophy which Warren Harding has put into practice through all his life. Some men seek for achievement by dominating others. They believe in putting things through. They believe in concentrating power and responsibility, and they are willing to accept the responsibility if they can have the power. There are other men, and they are rarer, who seek for achievement by securing the cooperation of others. They believe in getting things done; that things which are "put through" often really never "get done." They want others to work with them, share their power, and feel a corresponding responsibility. And when their common task is finished they are ready to acknowledge the common share in the common credit. As editor of a newspaper, as Senator, and as President Mr. Harding has never sought to dominate his associates. He has made his way by renunciation.

This, it seems, is not merely with him a matter of temperament. It has been his philosophy of life. It is the theory on which he has deliberately and consciously acted. He has shared the ownership of his newspaper with his associates, and with the ownership its responsibility and its authority. Similarly, as a politician he has made a practice, not of giving orders, but of taking counsel. And now as President he has followed his theory not only in the conduct of his Administration as it affects domestic policy but also in foreign affairs.

It is the Harding philosophy, the Harding attitude toward all problems of conduct, that has led to the attempt to solve the vexatious and controversial international problems of this *post bellum* period by means, not of organizing power, but of summoning nations to conference. It is this philosophy that explains the President's willingness to leave the interests of the Nation at this Conference in the hands of the appointed delegates, and to repose such confidence in his Secretary of State as virtually to make him, and not the President, the chief figure of the Conference as well as its guiding officer. And it is this philosophy that has made of the Conference itself an unprecedented example of renunciation of power by the nations themselves.

This is not the imaginative interpretation of an American, naturally partial to the influence of his own country. It is the interpretation of the Nation's guests from other lands. In particular, it is the interpretation given by the authorized spokesman of the country which has, most unjustly, been widely accused of lacking in appreciation of the spirit of the Conference. "Gentlemen, when the list is drawn up," said M. Sarraut, the head of the French delegation, as he addressed the sixth plenary session, "when the inventory is being taken of what we have done here, I am sure that no sordid thought will enter the mind of any of us to estimate what he may have gained on the one side or what he may have lost on the other. No one of us will want to measure his advantages by those that may have been gained by his neighbor, and the same may be said of the sacrifices which have been made by us all." And possibly the tersest and most discerning expression of this common interpretation of the Conference was made at the same session by Count d'Alte, of Portugal, when he said: "Gentlemen, we owe to America much besides the generous hospitality that she has extended to our Conference. We owe to her the inspiration that has made it what it is. The Conference has been to a far greater extent than any other that I can recall a conference of renunciation. We have here seen great nations abandon long-established and deeply cherished national policies and renounce advantages once thought essential to the welfare of their people, and this not for value received, but simply out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

To ascribe motives for these acts of renunciation is as easy and as idle as to ascribe motives for any act. Those who believe that the motives were purely selfish and sordid cannot be persuaded by any argument or refuted by any facts. There never was any act, however good or useful, for which an evil motive might not be found. On the other hand, a good motive never made an unwise act wise, or a harmful act beneficent. Whatever the motives may have been, the fact remains that at this Conference the nations did renounce claims, advantages, ambitions, which they might have chosen to retain and did not.

America had the opportunity, and used it, to set the example. At the outset she renounced her power to win the race in naval armaments. Great Britain renounced her mastery of the sea. France renounced her right and her natural desire to remain a first-class naval Power. Italy renounced all possibility of attaining the place as a naval Power to which her maritime skill might well entitle her. Japan renounced a naval position in the Pacific corresponding to the importance of her merchant marine. America and Japan renounced the right to fortify certain portions of their own territory. The four chief naval Powers of the Pacific renounced all right to make, without consultation with all the others, an at-

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tack upon any of them. And all the Powers, except China, which had no privilege to sacrifice, renounced opportunities for commercial or political gain in the Far East, and most of them even existing rights and spheres of influence.

The treaties pledging these acts of renunciation are seven in number, and are thus described by President Harding in submitting them to the Senate:

> The covenant of limitation to naval armament between our Republic, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.
>
> The treaty between the same Powers in relation to the use of submarines and noxious gases in warfare.
>
> The treaty between the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan, relating to their insular possessions and their insular dominions in the Pacific.
>
> A declaration accompanying the Four-Power Treaty reserving American rights in mandated territory.
>
> An agreement supplementary to the Four-Power Treaty defining the application of the term "insular possessions and insular dominions," as relating to Japan.
>
> A treaty between the nine Powers in the Conference relating to principles and policies to be followed in matters concerning China.
>
> A treaty between the nine Powers relating to the Chinese customs tariff.

Accompanying the treaties were "the complete minutes of both plenary sessions and committee meetings and a copy of the official report" to the President "by the American delegation to the Conference." As the President pointed out, the transmission of such full accounts of the negotiation of treaties is unprecedented, but it is, to use the President's words, evidence of "that open and simpler diplomacy for which the world has asked and the practice of which contributed largely to the success of the Conference so recently adjourned."

Such renunciation as is recorded in these treaties would not be possible except by agreement among nations which felt themselves warranted in exercising mutual trust. "It was," said the President, "a conference of friends, proceeding in deliberation and sympathy."

In renouncing elements of naval strength the nations were first assured of mutual renunciation in claims and ambitions. Without limitation in policies there would have been no limitation in battleships. Therefore, as the President declared, "the particular justification of this progressive and highly gratifying step was the settlement of the international problems of the Pacific, attended by new understandings in place of menacing disagreements and established sureties instead of uncertainties which easily might lead to conflict."

The President was stating only a fact, not an opinion, when he said that "the Powers in this Conference sought no concert to dispossess any Power of its rights or properties," and added:

> All the signatories have given up certain rights which they had, as their contribution to concord and peace, but at no sacrifice of national pride, with no regret or resentment to later flame in conflict.
>
> Some relinquished certain rights or prerogatives which they had asserted, notably in the settlement of the Shantung controversy, dealt with in a covenant quite apart from the group herewith submitted. But every concession was a willing one, without pressure or constraint. . . .
>
> It is not necessary to remind you that the Conference work was not directed against any Power or group of Powers. There were no punishments to inflict, no rewards to bestow. . . . The conclusions reached and the covenants written neither require nor contemplate compulsive measures against any power in the world, signatory or non-signatory. The offerings are free will; the conscience is that of world opinion; the observance is a matter of national honor.

The effect upon the nations assembled of this practice of mutual renunciation is described by the President as follows:

> I can assure you the nine Powers have been brought more closely together, they are stancher neighbors and friends, they have clearer and better estimates of one another; they have seen suspicion challenged and selfishness made to retreat, they have keener and more sympathetic understandings, and they are more strongly willed for right and justice in international relations than ever before.

In particular, the effect of this Conference upon the policies of the United States was thus stated by the President:

> I am not unmindful, nor was the Conference, of the sentiment in this chamber against Old World entanglements. . . . I can bring you every assurance that nothing in any of these treaties commits the United States, or any other Power, to any kind of an alliance, entanglement, or involvement. . . . It has been said, if this be true, these are mere meaningless treaties, and therefore valueless. Let us accept no such doctrine of despair as that. If nations may not establish by mutual understanding the rules and principles which are to govern their relationship; if a sovereign and solemn plight of faith by leading nations of the earth is valueless; if nations may not trust one another, then, indeed, there is little on which to hang our faith in advancing civilization or the furtherance of peace.

Speaking in particular of the Four-Power Treaty, which, as he said, "covenants the respect of each nation's rights in relation to its insular possessions," the President pointed out that there was no "war commitment;" for, as he said, "in case of controversy between the covenanting Powers it is agreed to confer and seek adjustment, and if said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any outside Power, these friendly Powers, respecting one another, are to communicate, perhaps confer, in order to understand what action may be taken, jointly or separately, to meet a menacing situation."

In dealing with this specific treaty, as with the seven treaties jointly, the President emphasized the fact that there was no international force erected to which to appeal and not even any promise to use national forces in a joint enterprise of enforcement. Although he pointed out the moral warning implicit in a conference of the four Powers, he stated, with a repetition of phrase that seems still to be needed in order to make a simple thing plain, that

> There is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no written or moral obligation to join in defense, no expressed or implied commitment to arrive at any agreement except in accordance with our Constitutional methods.

Recognizing the fact that the United States is a part of the world and "can no more do without international negotiations and agreements in these modern days than we could maintain orderly neighborliness at home without the prescribed rules of conduct which are more the guaranties of freedom than the restraint thereof," the President strongly supported the doctrine that such international negotiations among friendly Powers are more soundly based upon trust than force. He did so by this declaration:

> Frankly, Senators, if nations may not safely agree to respect each other's rights, and may not agree to confer if one party to the compact threatens trespass, or may not agree to advise if one party to the pact is threatened by an outside Power, then all concerted efforts to tranquilize the world and stabilize peace must be flung to the winds.

Briefly outlining the events which led in succession to our treaty relations with China, to our peculiar connection with Japan as the opener of her gates to the world, to our acquisition of Hawaii, and to the presence of our flag in Samoa, the Philippines, and Guam, the President showed how the Pacific and its menaces have deeply concerned us and asked, "Why should we not make reciprocal engagements to respect the territory of others and contract their respect of ours, and thus quiet apprehension and put an end to suspicion?" And he added: "I am ready to assume the sincerity and the dependability of the assurances of our neighbors of the Old World that they will respect our rights, just as I know we mean to respect theirs."

This is the Harding doctrine of achievement by renunciation. Whether it is a sound doctrine or not I do not undertake to discuss; I am simply concerned in pointing out what that doctrine is and indicating that it is different from the doctrine of achievement by force and is not to be confused with it. It is this doctrine of renunciation which explains the origin, the proceedings, and the product of the Armament Conference at Washington.

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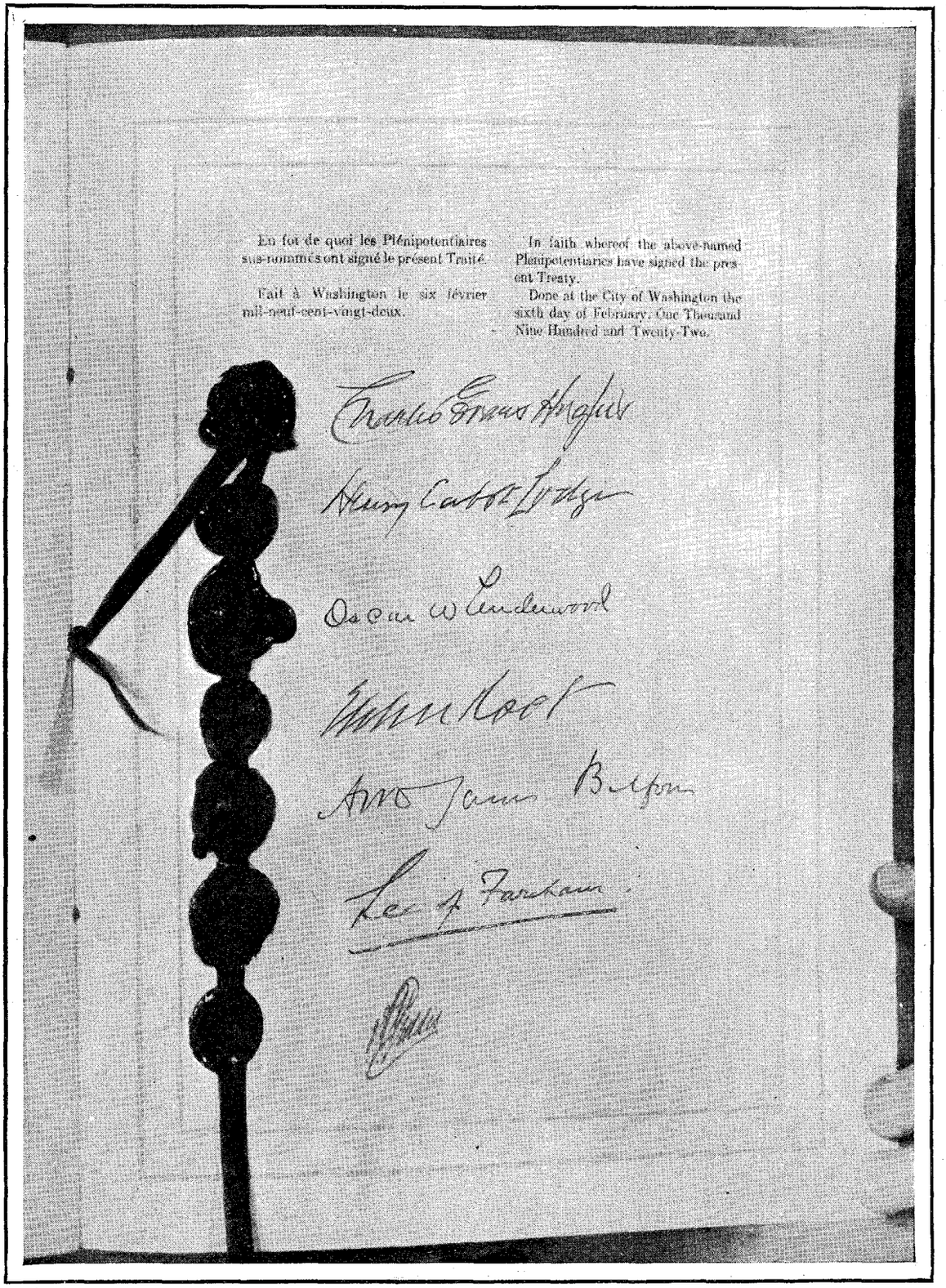
IT SIGNS WELL, DOES IT NOT?

(Antony and Cleopatra, Act IV, Scene 3)


En foi de quoi les Plénipotentiaires sus-nommés ont signé le présent Traité.
Fait à Washington le six février mil-neuf-cent-vingt-deux.
In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.
Done at the City of Washington the sixth day of February, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-Two.

International

A PAGE OF THE TEN-YEAR NAVAL HOLIDAY TREATY, SHOWING THE SIGNATURES OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH DELEGATES, WITH THEIR SEALS ATTACHED

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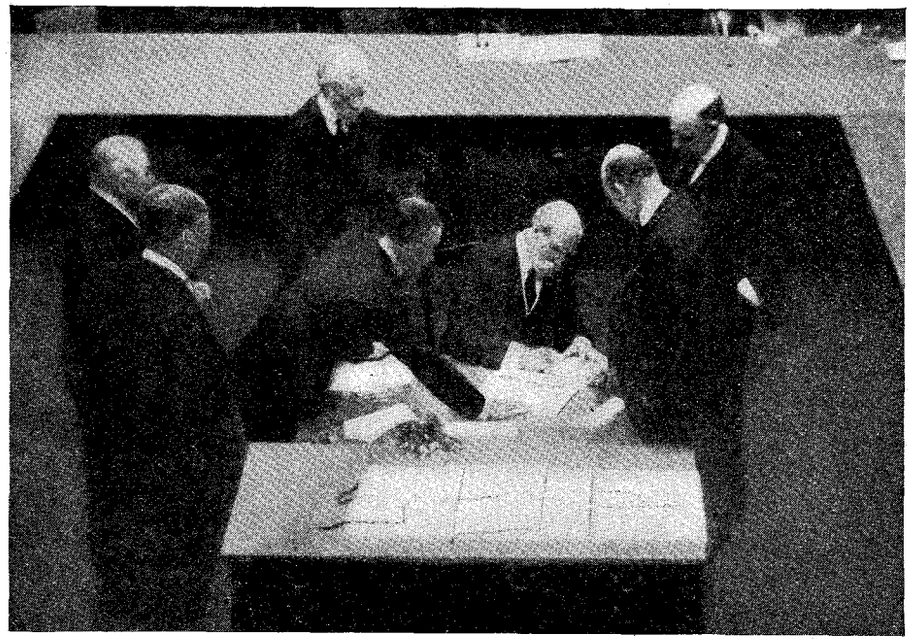
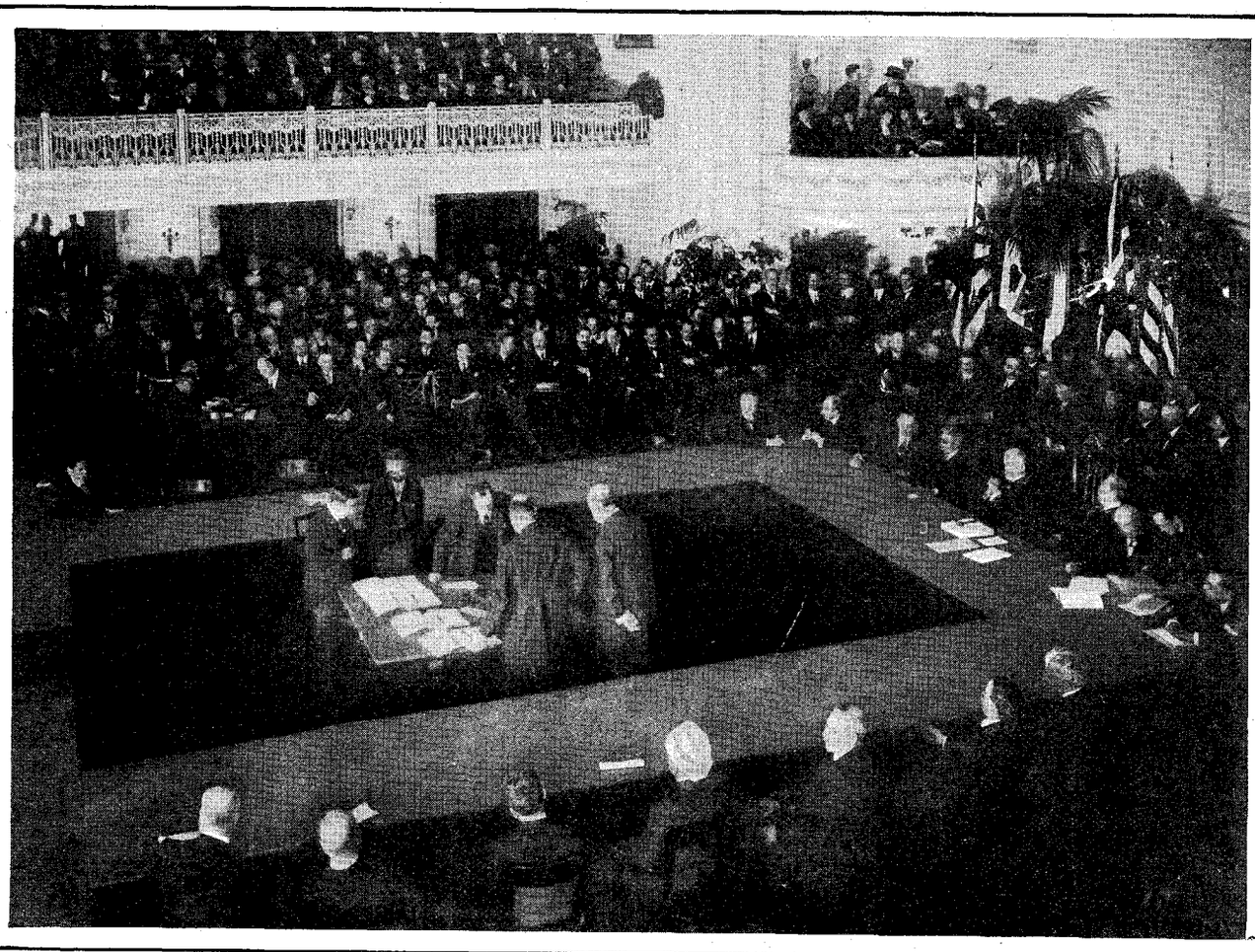
SECRETARY HUGHES SIGNING THE NAVAL HOLIDAY TREATY IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The three others in the American delegation are standing to the left of the picture. Senator Underwood in the foreground, just beyond him Mr. Root, and, looking over Secretary Hughes's shoulder, Senator Lodge. Facing Secretary Hughes is John W. Garrett, Secretary-General of the Conference



International



Clinedinst from Keystone

A JAPANESE REPRESENTATIVE SIGNING THE TREATY

Baron Shidehara is standing at the end of the center table preparing to sign. Admiral Baron Kato, who is signing the treaty, is hidden from view. At the corner of the table to the left is Mr. Hanihara, another of the Japanese delegates. At the large table in the shape of a horseshoe is seated, in the farther corner at the left, the Japanese interpreter. To the right of the vacant space is M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador to the United States, and next to him, just around the corner of the table, is M. Sarraut, the head of the French delegation. Next to him are, successively, Senator Underwood, Mr. Root, Senator Lodge (with his hands clasped in front of him), Secretary Hughes, Mr. Balfour (with his face toward the reader). At the extreme right of the picture is Lord Lee of Fareham. Sir Auckland Geddes, the British Ambassador, is represented only by his hand. Along the nearer side of the table, *from right to left*, are Sir Robert Borden of Canada, Senator Pearce of Australia, Sir John Salmond of New Zealand, Srinavasa Sastri of India, and the three Italian delegates—Senator Schanzer, Ambassador Ricci, and Senator Albertini. Among the ladies in the box beyond the flags is Mrs. Harding. In front of the flags are the American advisers. Under the balcony in the front rows are the French advisers, and in the rear are press representatives

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THE GOATS[1]

OUR FOREIGN-BORN WHO CAN'T BE NATURALIZED, AND WHY

BY PAUL LEE ELLERBE

FORMERLY CHIEF NATURALIZATION EXAMINER AT DENVER

IF you work for the Government, there are few things in the gamut of the objectionable that you can't do and brag about afterwards in print, if only you can persuade Congress to pass the right kind of a law on the subject. Nor is this as difficult as the average hundred percenter thinks it is. Every now and then Congress passes a law without knowing what it means, and I have helped enforce at least one of its statutes that nobody knew the meaning of.

You do your bragging in a pamphlet bearing the imprint of the Government Printing Office and the seal of your department. And nobody reads it. That is, nobody who understands it. Except of course those who helped you do the job. And so you are quite safe—unless one of them takes a notion to translate your official cant into plain English.

I'm going to do that to a few pages of the "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Naturalization to the Secretary of Labor. Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1921."

For ten years I worked for the Commissioner. For three years and a half I was one of his chief examiners, in charge of the naturalization work of five Western States. I happen to know what his neat gray annual report really means.

He says in it that during that year his official force (given by him in 1919 as 2,772 persons) examined 393,888 documents, interviewed half a million people, and handled over a million pieces of mail.

Why? To put it simply, for the purpose of separating the sheep from the goats among the foreign-born people who applied for citizenship. There were 182,637 such people in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, and, according to the Commissioner, ten out of every hundred of them were goats. In other words, 18,981 filed petitions for naturalization that were denied.

Nothing short of a trigonometry book could look duller than the table of tiny figures in the lower right-hand corner of which the gist of that information is contained. And yet, if you had stood where I stood for a decade, guarding 164 of the intakes through which these people come into citizenship, watching their faces, hearing their stories, seeing the difficulties that confront them, you'd find those little figures swelling themselves out into an army of 18,981 human beings, and you'd want to know why they were turned back from the Gates of Hope, and whether it was necessary.

Suppose, conservatively, that the fortunes of each are linked up with a family of four. That's 76,000 people—enough to populate Jacksonville, Florida, say—disappointed by our Government in "the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921." And just for a rough approximation, suppose the figures were the same every year; the total for the last ten years would be 760,000, which is more people than there are in the State of North Dakota.

Now disappointed people are a nuisance, even when they are as voiceless and as patient and forgiving as the foreign-born population of America. They are a kind of slow poison. A standard of reasonable efficiency demands that we turn out no more of them than necessary. Was it necessary to disappoint these 760,000? If it was, we've got a good thing in our elaborate protective machinery, with its official force of 2,772, its 393,888 documents examined, its million pieces of mail handled, and half a million people interviewed per annum.

Well, it wasn't.

Of the fifteen reasons for denial enumerated by the Commissioner, two go unequivocally into the merits of the matter, "Immoral Character" and "Ignorance." "Immoral Character" speaks for itself. And "Ignorance" covers those who didn't appear to know enough to exercise the rights of citizenship intelligently. Those are real reasons why we need a naturalization service: to keep out the morally undesirable and those who don't care enough about us to understand our system of government. How many of them did that official force of 2,772 find during 1921? A little more than half a one apiece. One thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, out of 182,637 who applied. A trifle more than one per cent.

What were the other 17,142 citizenship seekers denied for?

By far the largest number, 5,215, almost one-third, for—what would you suppose? "Want of Prosecution." That is, they paid their money, filed their petitions for naturalization, and then gave up. If there was any way to make Congress realize the poignancy and the volume of deferred hope hidden behind those figures (for one year alone!), things might be changed. It can only be suggested here.

Why did they give up, these 5,215 alien friends who spent their money and their time getting themselves legally on record to the effect that they wanted to be Americans? Out of an intimate and extended personal knowledge I give you the answer for nearly all of them in two words: Red tape. If you had it wound about your neck as tightly as I used to have to help wind it about theirs, you'd give up too.

The whole of the naturalization routine is printable only in a neat gray pamphlet, but consider the simplest possible statement of the most important parts of it.

Leaving entirely out of consideration the great gaunt West, where some of the naturalization courts hold hearings only once a year, and where I have known homesteaders, too poor to own horses and waiting for citizenship in order to prove up on their land, walk twenty-five miles every time they were called to court—leaving all that out entirely, consider what you'd have to do if you were an alien and applied for citizenship anywhere in the United States.

The actual work of naturalization is done by the courts. The report before me says that there were 2,265 of them attending to it in 1921. The first thing would be to go before the clerk of one within whose jurisdiction you resided, pay a dollar, and file a declaration of intention, or first paper, declaring your intention to renounce your own country and, in due time, to join this one.

Then, not less than two nor more than seven years thereafter, you'd follow that up by paying four dollars and filing in the same or, in case you had moved, in another court a petition stating that you had been in the United States at least five years and in the State of filing at least one year, and that you were attached to the principles of the Constitution, and a good deal more. You'd have to have two witnesses, citizens of the United States, verify your petition by signing affidavits to the effect that they had known you five years in this country and had personal knowledge that you were a person of good moral character, etc.

That done, you and your witnesses—who might very possibly have stood in line for many hours to get to the clerk's desk—would have to go to the office of the Chief Naturalization Examiner and be thoroughly examined all over again. This might be the same or another day. Very frequently it's another day, and takes the whole of it, for you and your witnesses. And often you have to pay the wages your witnesses lose, and their traveling expenses if a journey is necessary on filing day and then on examination day.

Yes, and then again on hearing day, and if your case happens to be continued, on two hearing days, or more. For the next step is the hearing of your case in open court, before the judge, at least

[1] The second of two articles by Mr. Ellerbe on the problem of naturalization. Last week we published "Treating 'Em Human."

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three months after you filed your petition.

Again you'd have to see all that in terms of human beings to know what it means, and I haven't the space to try to make you. But perhaps this bare outline will give you a hint of why 5,215 petitions were denied in 1921 for "Want of Prosecution," and at the same time serve as a background for explanations of the other causes of denial.

The next largest one is "Miscellaneous." Four thousand six hundred and fifty-two under that. One thousand seven hundred and thirty-six of these, the Commissioner says, were "reported denied because claimed exemption from military service on account of alienage." The reasons for the denial of the other 2,916 would require an article in themselves. They are akin to those examined here.

Then comes "Incompetent Witnesses." Three thousand and fifty-eight cases denied for that. The witnesses turned out not to have the personal knowledge of the applicants required by the statute. Nearly all of them thought they had it; swore they had it; acted in good faith. I have examined thousands of them, and I know that to be true. Wouldn't you think that when it was discovered that they were honestly mistaken the men whose petitions they verified would be allowed to go out and get other, competent witnesses to take their places and go on and complete the process begun so often at the cost of so much time and money and inconvenience? How would the great Republic suffer? But not a bit of it. The 3,058 petitions so verified all had to be denied, the time spent wasted, and the (at least) $12,232 paid in lost. (Heaven only knows what the amount really was—it might easily have run to $100,000 with wages what they were.)

And the only thing the applicants could do was to begin again by filing new petitions. And in the meantime of course the declarations of intention of many of them had expired and had to be renewed, and that meant an additional delay of just two years. No wonder some of them feel that they are caught in a vicious circle of alienage from which there is no escape.

Perhaps you will turn hopefully to the next most important heading in the Commissioner's table of figures. You will not find sustenance there for our American quality of optimism. You will learn from it that during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921, 1,848 petitions for naturalization were denied on account of "Declaration Invalid." "Declaration" is declaration of intention, or first paper. Most of these 1,848, and all other invalid declarations, were either invalid the day they were made, on account of the mistakes of the clerks who issued them, or became invalid by the lapse of the statutory seven years, and in either event should not have been accepted by the clerks who subsequently permitted their holders to use them as bases for petitions for naturalization. But just the same this whole army of people had to go through all the process I have outlined and get an official order of denial over the hand of the Court before they could find that out.

EXAMINING AN APPLICANT FOR CITIZENSHIP IN THE NATURALIZATION OFFICE AT NEW YORK

(C) Underwood

Six hundred and twenty-five cases were denied because of "Petitioners' Motion;" that is, the people who filed them asked that they be denied—for some reason or other gave up hope and withdrew.

"Deceased." Five hundred and thirty-three of those in 1921. One would like to know how long their petitions had been pending when they died.

Then comes "Insufficient Residence," with 313 turned back for that. They had not "resided continuously within the United States for five years and within the State for one year immediately preceding the dates of their petitions." Some of them went back to the old countries for visits, some of them left the States in which their petitions were filed on business trips and for other reasons. But they didn't conceal it. If they couldn't be naturalized, why not tell them so and save them all that journeying and standing in line and filing and paying and oath taking?

I suppose it's because they aren't Americans and rarely protest, and the rest of us are too concerned with other matters to protest for them.

"Already a Citizen." Doesn't it seem that we could devise some way whereby a man who was already a citizen of a nation as intelligent as this one could establish his title to that status without going through the complicated process of applying for what he already had and setting in motion the whole machinery of a court? Yet 274 citizens of the United States, in order to prove themselves such, had to do just that during the year under consideration. They were people the record of whose naturalization had been destroyed, who came into citizenship through the operation of some obscure or ambiguous statute, etc., etc. The Naturalization Service investigated the facts in the case of every one of them. Why not confer upon that service the power to issue immediately at the close of such investigations satisfactory proofs of citizenship? It is very much better equipped to pass upon points of this kind than are the courts, which in ninety-nine per cent of such cases only follow its recommendations, anyhow.

To carry on the story, 261 of them were denied without protest in 1921 for "No Jurisdiction." Which simply means that careless clerks let them file (and pay!) in the wrong courts, or else that they had to move to other parts of the country after filing and were penalized for it.

"No Certificate of Arrival" is perhaps the extremest instance of injustice in this exhibit. A certificate of arrival is a piece of paper issued by the Department of Labor to aliens who arrived in the United States after June 29, 1906. But the Department of Labor does not give these certificates to the aliens at the time they arrive, nor, in fact, at any time at all, but issues them only when the aliens have signified their readiness to file petitions for naturalization, and then only upon written application made through the clerks of the natural-

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izing courts, to whom, and never to the aliens themselves, the Department sends the certificates. The clerks are instructed not to accept petitions for naturalization from aliens who arrived after June 29, 1906, until after the necessary certificates of arrival are in their possession. Petitions filed by such aliens are not complete or valid unless at the time they are filed the certificates of arrival are attached thereto and made parts thereof. But in 1921 155 petitions incomplete and invalid because not so supported were filed and in due course denied, and $620 collected therefor. That was one of the things that occupied the time of the official force of 2,772 and helped to swell that total of a million pieces of mail.

One hundred and forty-six petitions for naturalization were denied in 1921 because the people who filed them were "Unable to Produce Witnesses or Depositions." Depositions are written statements taken to prove residence in States other than that of filing. Sometimes they can't be furnished. And sometimes the original verifying witnesses move away and other competent ones can't be found (substitution is permitted under these circumstances), and that's the end of it, and the petitions so defective have to be denied. It's a relief to chronicle a cause like that.

But "Premature Petition" is another matter. There were only 42 of those in 1921, but surely that was 42 too many, for "Premature Petition" means petitions filed before the declarations of intention upon which they were based were two years old. Such petitions the clerks of the 2,265 naturalizing courts are strictly forbidden to accept, but when they *have* accepted them they are permitted and required to collect four dollars from each petitioner so misled, and the Government duly pockets half of it.

The fifteenth cause of denial is "Section 2169." Section 2169 of the Revised Statutes (on the books since 1875) says that only white persons and Africans may be naturalized. The 20 who were denied under that head during 1921 thought they were white within the meaning of the law, and were held by the courts to which they applied to be non-white. It has been a vexatious and confusing matter. The Bureau of Naturalization has held varied and conflicting views about it. At one time the Bureau even ludicrously undertook to limit the application of this statute to Europeans. Some courts have been beguiled into holding that Japanese and Hindus are white persons and have naturalized them, and so subjected them to the annoyance and humiliation of having their certificates of naturalization canceled by other courts. If there's any doubt about you, you have to go through the mill to find out what you are. It would seem that common courtesy to the other nations demands that Congress specify which it means by "white" and which it doesn't.

That's the last of the tests by which the sheep are parted from the goats. Even this cursory examination of the fifteen of these tests shows that most of the 18,981 turned back in 1921 were made the goats by us, and were not inherently different from the sheep. Most of them should have come in.

What can be done about it? That of course is for Congress to say, but it ought to do something.

When an alien cannot be naturalized, he should be told so at once, without the present drain on his time and money and affection for America. There is no sense in feeding him through the mills of the law just to tell him at the end that his first paper is invalid, that he is already a citizen, that he hasn't lived here long enough, that he has come in the wrong court, that the clerk forgot to get a certificate of arrival for him, that his first paper is not two years old, or that he is not a white man. We ought to fix it somehow so that the official force of 2,772 persons can tell him that in the beginning. It is more important than examining 393,000 documents a year, interviewing half a million people, and handling a million pieces of mail. Our naturalization machinery functions not wisely but too well. Quite uselessly it is making enemies of moral and intelligent aliens whom we need for friends.

HOW ITALY GOVERNS HER NEW TEUTONIC CITIZENS

BY BRUNO ROSELLI

A GROUP OF REAL ALTO ADIGE SUNDAY CLOTHES—IT COULD HARDLY BE MORE TYPICALLY SOUTH GERMAN!

LEONIDA BISSOLATI, one of the greatest political figures of modern Italy, died two years ago "of a broken heart because his beloved Wilson gave Italy too much in the north and too little in the east." In this paradoxical newspaper phrase is much food for thought. The situation in the Alto Adige (or upper part of the valley of the river Adige, as the Italians call the former Süd-Tirol) is avowedly one in which ethnical and geographical claims, each unusually potent, come to a clash. The Peace Conference unanimously awarded the district to Italy, in order to grant to her the completion of "God's boundary"—the stupendous amphitheater of the Alps. Thus three hundred thousand Teutons (or one-tenth the number of Teutons awarded to Czechoslovakia on the same geographical grounds) became citizens of Italy, hitherto the most racially homogeneous of European countries. Signor Credaro, the Minister of Liberated Lands, is accused by the majority of educated Italians, led by the authoritative "Corriere della Sera" of Milan, of a *laissez-faire* verging on pro-Germanism in dealing with those populations. On the other hand, one hears in America all sorts of

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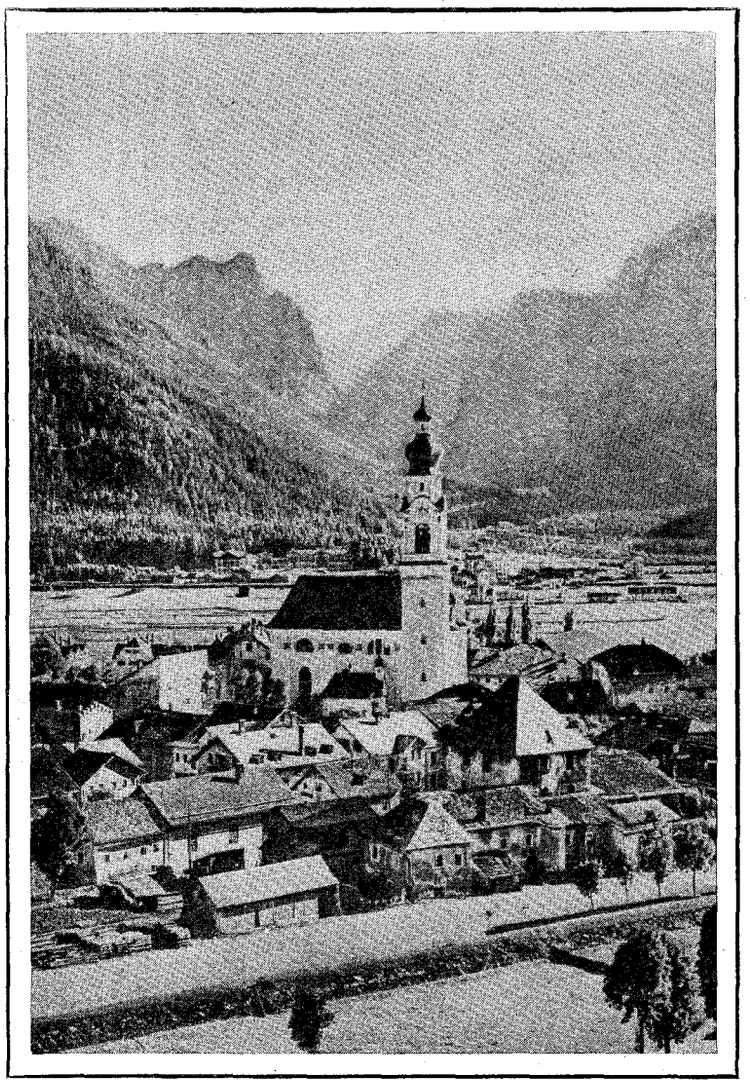
talk about the problem of Italy's "oppression of the proud Tyrolese." I decided last summer to see with my own eyes; and I hope that the following notes will show the American reader why I have come to the conclusion that both attitudes are partly right and partly wrong; that is, the Alto Adige constitutes a real racial problem for Italy, although its people are far from "oppressed," and the Italian criticism of the Government's moderation is based on ignorance of the rudiments of the art of governing alien races.



THE VILLAGE OF TOBLACH, THE HIGHEST POINT IN THE PUSTERTAL. THE VALLEY INDICATED BEYOND THE CHURCH TOWER IS THE AMPEZZOTAL, WHICH LEADS SOUTH INTO ITALY. THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THIS PASS IS BEYOND MEASURE

"Dobbiaco—Toblach" says the bilingual sign on the unpretentious little railway station, the last *real* one on the Italian side of the new boundary, although the actual frontier formalities are carried out a few miles beyond. And a little toy train comes up from the Italian plains to invade with its dirty smoke and its shrill whistle the majestic solitude of this mountain pass, where the Alps, east and west, seem to bow in reverence before the northernmost sentinel of the Dolomites—those granitic filibusters which hurl their tempestuous might against the orderliness of the Alpine necklace, defying our most approved notions of what a well-behaved mountain chain should be.

"Would you like to see how things look in Vienna, fourteen hours away?" says the friendly station-master. "If so, offer to my Austrian colleague, whom you will find a few miles farther on, a two-dollar bill, and possibly a few cents more if the exchange is particularly unfavorable to you to-day, and he will sell you a ticket, the price of which is eight hundred kroner."

But no, I am not ready to go to Vienna and join the vast army of Americans who deplete appreciably her low stores of food by staying there to investigate and discuss said depleted stores. I prefer to look at the "Rome-Vienna Express," which chestily puffs into the station. It is a pathetic successor to one of the crack international trains of Europe, which used to thrill us with their fleeting vision of power and wealth, consisting now of three cars—one third-class, one evenly divided between first and second class, and one Pullman wherein congregates the fortunate crowd of "free ride" folk whose bills are met by foreign governments or societies: Reparations Commission, Red Cross, League of Nations.

Vienna, the former great capital, shorn of her satellites, has become a minor South German town.

Yet the prestige of that great military power that was, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, will not die out for generations. You only have to come to my hotel at Innichen, about ten minutes from Dobbiaco, to see in the place of honor a life-size picture of his former Majesty Emperor Francis Joseph. "What?" I can hear some of my American friends remark, "a picture of the man who fought no less than five wars against the Italians allowed in the territory which Italy snatched from her traditional enemy?" Why not? Americans have not yet realized to what an extent Italy is a country of free opinions. They had given her up as a total loss when the Italian factory hands played with red flags a year and a half ago. And they never understood how the new Kingdom could allow the head of the Catholic Church to inveigh again and again from Rome against the Italian Government; nor how the police could tolerate that the words "*Viva Lenin*" should be scribbled on the walls of almost every public building, without anybody attempting to erase that harmless expression of discontent. Italy is a country which leaves the most rabid individual free to express his or her opinions until they conflict with the rights of others, and occasionally far beyond that limit. And this attitude cannot of course be limited to the territory of the pre-war Kingdom, but also extends to the newly annexed lands. Thus, incredible but true, the bandmaster of the Communal band of this very town of Innichen was allowed to play in the public square on a fine summer Sunday the Imperial Austrian national anthem, amid the cheers of the local population (can you imagine an Alsatian bandmaster being allowed by the French to play the "Wacht am Rhein"?); and on the following Sunday, when I was at Innichen myself, Teutonic sympathizers were distributing under the eyes of four Italian *carabinieri* a protest, not only in the German language but in the German script, against the "tyrannical" action of the Italian authorities, who had requested the bandmaster not to repeat the performance. Said bandmaster, in my very presence, complied that Sunday by playing German Tyrolean songs, followed by the "Schwarzer Adler" of well-known German flavor and fame!

In fact, I shall never forget that day. In the crowd which gathered around the band were several men with pictures of former Emperor Charles in their hats. As an ex-Italian officer who had fought against that monarch, I felt that the performance smacked of provocation, and spoke to one of the peasants who wore the strange adornment.

"You love your former Emperor, don't you?"

"Yes, I love his Majesty Emperor Charles."

"Don't you think, however, that it is bad taste and poor policy to wear in your hat the portrait of Charles of Hapsburg, a sovereign whom Austria herself has overthrown?"

Silence; then a grin; then a most clever answer: "How can any one ob-

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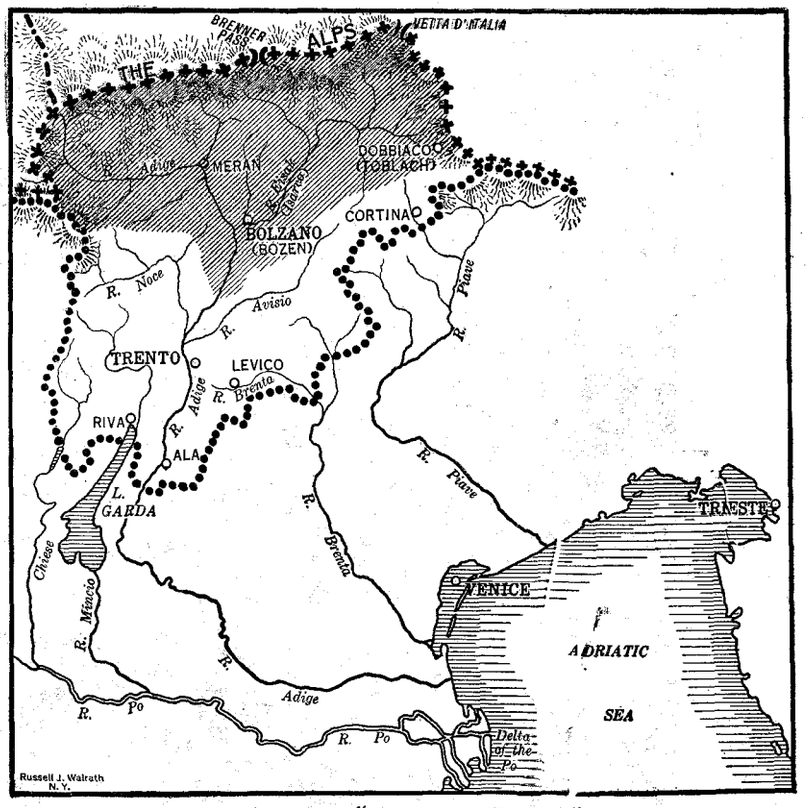

MAP OF THE "VENEZIA TRIDENTINA"

This is the birthplace of many north Italian rivers annexed to Italy under the Treaty of St. Germain. The dotted line shows the fantastic pre-war boundary; the crosses mark the new boundary, which coincides with the crest of the Alps. Population about half a million; three-fifths Italian, two-fifths German. The latter inhabit the dotted territory, which is now officially styled "Alto Adige"

ject to my wearing in my hat the portrait of a private citizen whom I used to serve?"

"Serve? Where?"

"Here, on that mountain, where I lost these fingers," he replied, turning his eyes upon one of the superb peaks of the Dolomites and showing a badly shattered hand.

Human sympathy replaced the feelings born of the war which had hitherto occupied my mind. "And how do you manage to work, now, in that condition?"

"I do not work. As a *mutilato* of the Austrian army the Italian Government pays me a monthly allowance."

Here was indeed food for thought, especially for those Americans who whimper over Italy's "tyrannical" treatment of the Alto Adige. For that matter, Italy could not hold this rebellious region for a month if she acted tyrannically—no matter what the decisions of the Peace Conference, which took Fiume from Italy and gave her Bozen, in order to obtain Italian connivance to French encroachments upon the Rhineland and to create on the east of Italy a powerful Jugoslavia which would keep her busy in that quarter.

Later in the day I came across a Triestino who was staying at my hotel. When I recounted my conversation with the *mutilato*, "These people are angry," he said, "extremely angry with the Italian Government. Of course the Government has not treated them rightly; they have not yet been allowed to change into lire, at par, the Austrian kroner which they held in the bank before the armistice."

"But how can they expect that?" I retorted. "An Italian lira is worth at least ten Austrian crowns to-day!"

"I know, but that is what they want, and they won't be loyal until they get it. After all, it is not their fault if their currency has depreciated."

Surely this was a new angle from which to look at the situation. I smiled to myself, wondering whether it is *my* fault that the lira itself, which used to be worth twenty cents, is now worth four, and if it is the fault of a certain member of my family in Florence that his monthly pension of three hundred lire, which used to pay the rent of a villa for the whole summer, now represents just the cost of a good pair of shoes.

When I returned to my hotel, the landlady reminded me, in fair English, that I had not yet registered. "I had entirely forgotten that," I answered inadvertently in Italian.

"Please do not speak that detestable language," she retorted in the harshest German.

"Why do you stay on the Italian side of the new frontier?" I asked, in the language of compromise.

"Because I like my three meals a day. People are too poor over there. Their money is worth almost nothing. But wait, and you will see. Very soon our savings will be officially changed into lire. Then we shall go across and change our money again, at any banker's. For every lira ten, twelve, perhaps fifteen crowns. We shall be very rich then, do you see?"

Oh, yes, I saw. I also saw that in the room where I was led to register were two huge atrocious portraits of Bismarck and Metternich, and below them an Austrian helmet and one of those horrible maces with which our late enemy intended to "inspire awe." I also saw that the printed headings of the hotel register were entirely in German, and I made sure that it was not a left-over from pre-bellum days, but a recent acquisition fresh from Vienna.

It was a relief to go out and see a couple of Italian Alpine officers pass by, bound for some post far up on the heights. I greeted them and offered my company, which was readily accepted, and unbosomed myself of my anger.

If you have ever lived any time among these superb mountain gentlemen, who differ as much from the rough mountaineers as the country gentleman differs from the *contadino*, you will know what magnificent types of well-balanced, serene humanity they are. It was proved to me again on that day.

"Professor, you live in cities, transitory like all man-made things. We live among God's own eternal mountains. You help shape transitory policies; we deal in men's unchangeable feelings. We know that while the present generation of embittered ex-Austrian fighters lives any attempt at Italianization will seem to them to savor of tyranny. Granted that Signor Gredaro went rather far when he wrote the preface for a pan-Germanistic book on the Alto Adige, and reiterated the right of these Tyrolese populations to be left undisturbed in their Teutonism. But it is no treason to say that the general idea is correct. The Trentini were right when they sang: 'When the Adige shall flow into the Danube instead of the Adriatic, then we shall feel Austrian and not Italian.' Of course the line of the Alps, the tremendous and obvious boundary between Italians and non-Italians, is to be kept safe by our uniforms. But, mark my words! We are doing just the right thing. An efficient line of Alpine posts at the frontier, above the level of human habitations, and precious few uniforms below. No tyranny, no denationalization, no forcible absorption; in other words, no repetition against the northernmost part of the new territory of the measures which made Austria so bitterly hated in the southernmost part before the war."

Those were truly words of wisdom. And when we parted and I proceeded toward the station, and saw the tobacconist parading the regulation Italian coat of arms surrounded by a German inscription, and witnessed the scene of a formal address of welcome in the German tongue by the mayor of the town to a group of distinguished American visitors, and beheld at the station a half-dozen porters still wearing the little

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Austrian caps with the inscription "*Dienst*," and when the conductor of a local train, wearing the attire of all Italian conductors, refused to speak Italian to me, I felt proud and hopeful: proud that Italy has learned how to be free from the retaliatory mania; and hopeful that a country which knew how to absorb the French of Piedmont, the Germans of Lombardy, the Slavs of Venetia, the Spaniards of Sardinia, the Greeks of Sicily, and the Albanians of Apulia will ultimately, by this same generous method of non-interference, write —not soon perhaps, but well—another chapter in the history of assimilation of foreign races in the land so markedly circumscribed by the Alps and the triple sea.

TAXATION OF LABOR UNIONS

BY EVERETT P. WHEELER

IN Daniel Webster's address before the Historical Society he tells us: "I learned from the reports of controversies in the courts of law of the pursuits and occupations of individuals and of the objects which most earnestly engaged their attention." This was Mr. Webster's last public address in New York City, and it finds illustrations in the current reports of decided cases.

In a recent decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the Seventh Circuit, in which that Court dealt with the controversies between the United Mine Workers of America and some of the independent coal operators in West Virginia, we find the Court stating the following facts respecting the organization known as the United Mine Workers of America:[1]

"The evidence shows that members of the Mine Workers Union purchased firearms and ammunition and otherwise financed the violent activities in behalf of the unionizing forces in West Virginia, and this state of war continued until the President sent troops into the State, and it is only held in abeyance because of that fact.

"The evidence shows that the revenues of the Mine Workers Union are produced from dues and assessments laid upon the members; that these fines and assessments are, by an arrangement between the miners' organization and the operators, taken from the wages of the workers in the mines by the operators and paid by them to the organization of mine workers. This is the 'check-off' system. The membership is large and the dues and assessments yield an enormous sum.

"Statements made by officers of the United Mine Workers show that the miners' organization has sent into West Virginia to carry on this struggle more than two and a half million dollars, and the secretary-treasurer of that organization, in his report to the Convention recently held in this city, stated that during the year ending August 1, 1921, the organization had sent into West Virginia more than a million dollars. This money was derived from the 'check-off' system, and was sent to West Virginia to assist in the effort to organize the West Virginia field."

The system of the Mine Workers Union in all the districts where it has succeeded in what it calls "unionizing" the mines is this. No man is allowed to work in the mines unless he is a member of the union. When he becomes a member, he is required to sign a contract that his dues to the union shall be deducted from his pay and sent by the company to the treasurer of the union. As long as he remains a member of the union this contract remains in force. The only way he can get rid of it is by resigning from the union, in which case he loses his job. Another illustration of the work of trade unions is to be found in the testimony taken before the Lockwood Committee of the New York Senate, which was published in the New York "Times" on December 6, 1921.

There is a brotherhood of electrical workers in New York City. Unlike the miners' union, it does not seek to attract members to it, but has succeeded in enforcing a regulation of its own that no electrical worker should be permitted to put in work in the city of New York unless he pays to the union, if he be a journeyman $130 a year, and if he be a helper $52 a year. Additional testimony was given by one of the officers of the union that there was "no bookkeeping system to look at," and it appears that there was a large leak in the accounts of the union and that some of its officers had accumulated private property by methods not disclosed but which can be readily surmised.

The facts which have been thus disclosed call public attention to a condition that ought to be surprising and is familiar. Practically the unions are not subject to any public authority whatever; they are not incorporated, they are not required to keep or publish any accounts of their receipts and expenditures, as corporations are. They have large incomes, amounting in many cases to millions of dollars annually, and have accumulated funds, some of them to the amount of many millions. They are exempt from taxation; in short, they are a privileged class. Beginning as a protest against what was in many cases injustice, they have become great and powerful. Some of their leaders undoubtedly are sincere men who seek what they consider public good, but others are ambitious and have been encouraged to be lawless because of the privileges extended to them.

What the public has a right to ask is that all trade unions should be required to keep accounts of their receipts and expenses, that these accounts should be subject to the inspection of some public authority, and that a summary of them should be published. All this is just as important for the members of the union as it is for the public.

It is hardly possible, for example, that the electrical workers would approve the blackmail that, according to this testimony, has been practiced by their officers. But, apart from this, no democracy can continue to prosper which tolerates the existence of a privileged class, having unlimited authority to raise money which, in the end, comes out of the pockets of those who have no voice in the management, and of associations which do not contribute in any way to the support of the Government. Every loyal citizen ought to be glad to do his part to support the Government that gives him protection.

For the purpose of removing the anomalies to which attention has just been called, it has been proposed to require the trade unions to become incorporated. The difficulty here is that their members are not willing to become incorporated, and it would be a difficult and perhaps impossible task to compel persons to incorporate against their will. Another method much more feasible is suggested by an examination of the Federal Tax Law which was approved by the President on November 23 last. Under 6 and 2 of this act we find the following clause: "The term corporation includes associations, joint stock companies, and insurance companies." Trade unions are certainly associations, and they would be taxable under the provisions of this law and required to account, as corporations are, were it not for a special exemption in Section 231. This provides that the "following organizations shall be exempt from taxation under this article: (1) Labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations."

Whatever reason there may be for exempting from taxation agricultural or horticultural organizations we need not consider. But the facts already stated show that there is none for including labor organizations in the exemption. If Section 231 of the Tax Law were amended by striking out the single word "labor," the desired result would be accomplished as far as it can be by Federal legislation. Can there be any good reason for continuing an exemption which exempts wealthy associations, some of whom certainly are using their accumulated funds for unlawful purposes, and compels their fellow-citizens to bear the whole burden?

[1] Ora Gasaway v. Borderland Coal Corporation. Chicago "Legal News," December 22, 1921.

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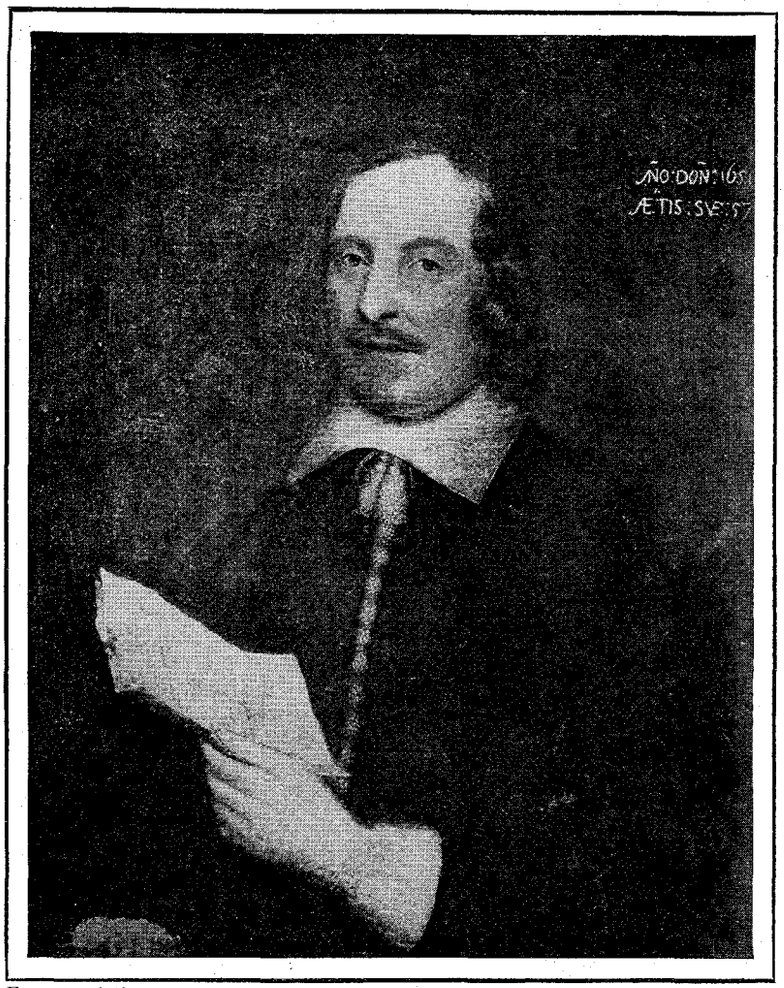
THE PILGRIM FATHERS; A PROTEST[1]

BY PRESIDENT ANGELL, OF YALE



From a painting
EDWARD WINSLOW, GOVERNOR OF PLYMOUTH COLONY

Such men as Winslow . . . did not cast in their lot with these poor people [the Pilgrims] for any worldly advantage. . . . It was the sanity of their religious views, and the goodness of their lives, that gained them such valuable support.
From "The Pilgrim Fathers," by Winnifred Cockshott, of St. Hilda's Hall, Oxford.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY America takes but a languid interest in the golden age of antiquity. In the face of a torn and agitated world it is complacently disposed to believe that life is to-day fuller, more interesting, and more agreeable than at any previous time in the history of man, and that to-morrow is likely to reveal still further promise. And yet at these dinners, and similar ceremonies held elsewhere, the Pilgrim Fathers are extolled in terms which would have brought the blush of shame to their tanned and sallow cheeks; and this despite the fact that their descendants could by no possible means be induced to exchange their present lot for that of these heroic ancestors. We praise, but we do not envy.

Not only is praise lavished upon the Pilgrims, but often it is ludicrously misconceived and misdirected, as who should praise Napoleon for his modesty, or Henry VIII for his domestic virtues. It has been said that it is better not to know so much than to know so much which is not true, and similarly it may be advisable to praise our forebears less or to praise them more justly.

The Pilgrim is often lauded as the founder of religious liberty; and it is true that by his struggle to secure opportunity to worship according to his conscience he contributed to this great cause. But the liberty he sought for himself he was reluctant to grant to others. A witty commentator has observed in regard to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, that after ten years its members had so far secured religious liberty that any one who agreed with the elders was at perfect liberty to say so. Others were irresistibly urged to return to England or to cultivate their heresies among the savages. As the Indians commonly scalped the heretic first and examined his theology afterward, few dissenters elected this alternative.

Again, there is often much unfounded accrediting to these glorious forebears of ours of the establishment of democratic government. It is true that in Connecticut there was at the outset a form of democratic town government, but it was hardly more than a form, and for many a long year democracy, as we now know it, was not only wholly lacking in New England, but was generally despised and distrusted. At Plymouth there was originally something closely approaching the communism apparently practiced in certain of the earlier Christian communities, but even this quickly passed away, being found impracticable. No one would deny that liberty of conscience and the forms of democracy both grew up in New England. But equally no informed person can truthfully assert that these achievements were characteristic of the earliest New England communities.

What we do find in the Pilgrims is the most superb devotion to religious convictions. For them the real world was the world of the spirit, compared with which the world of material things was but ephemeral dross. They feared not death nor physical suffering. Their dread was for sin, for the weakness of their souls in the face of temptation. Their heroic venture into the unknown wilderness across a wintry sea will always stand as one of the immortal landmarks in the onward march of the human soul, an enduring proof of the unconquerable power of complete moral and religious devotion. If we have that good fortune at all, we may well pride ourselves less on being their blood descendants than on being in some measure the worthy heritors of their undaunted spirit and their consecration to their vision of truth and righteousness. They respected law and human personality. Rank and social position as known in the polite world were to them an abomination, and in turn, as was not unnatural, they were despised and persecuted by the leaders of that world. Liberty they valued above all, but only as a prerequisite to the fulfillment of duty, to obedience to divine law, fealty to the Maker of all things. Thoroughgoing democracy, universal suffrage, and the like were far from their ideals.

We find among them also a position assigned to the family which made it the very foundation of the religious life of the individual and the community. He would be bold who should assert that our contemporary status of the family is an advance upon theirs. Moreover, they valued education, and from the first moment set themselves to pro-

[1] This paper was delivered as an Address at the One Hundred and Sixteenth Annual Dinner of the New England Society in the City of New York on December 22, 1921.

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vide schools and shortly even a college for the education of their leaders. And if these men and women have sometimes been praised for qualities they either did not possess or did not esteem, it is equally true that they have been blamed for faults which were peculiar to other men of their time as well as to themselves.

The period was not one of large tolerance, either in politics or religion, and in these matters they fought fire with fire. They were undoubtedly serious and some of them presumably hard and sour, like certain of their descendants; but they were also certainly brave and wholly conscientious. Their domestic life may have been bleak, but at least it was sturdy and pure. Surely these traits have some meaning for us to-day. We do not see God with their eyes, but we know that justice and mercy shall endure forever. We do not apprehend Satan in the material forms which they made so vivid, but we do know that, with nations as with men, injustice breeds strife and loose morals spell national decay.

We can never return to their literalistic interpretation of the Scriptures, nor to the austerities of their daily life, but we may well inquire whether something of their sense of the deeper, spiritual values of experience would not soften the hard and cynical gaze with which so many a modern looks out upon life, would not make for a deeper and more enduring foundation for our social relations and our National vigor.

Is it too much to hope that those superb impulses of high spiritual purpose which possessed our entire Nation during the late war may once more sweep over our people and embed themselves forever in our National fiber? Such a moral victory would indeed be a fitting tribute to the dauntless men and women whose memory we honor to-night.

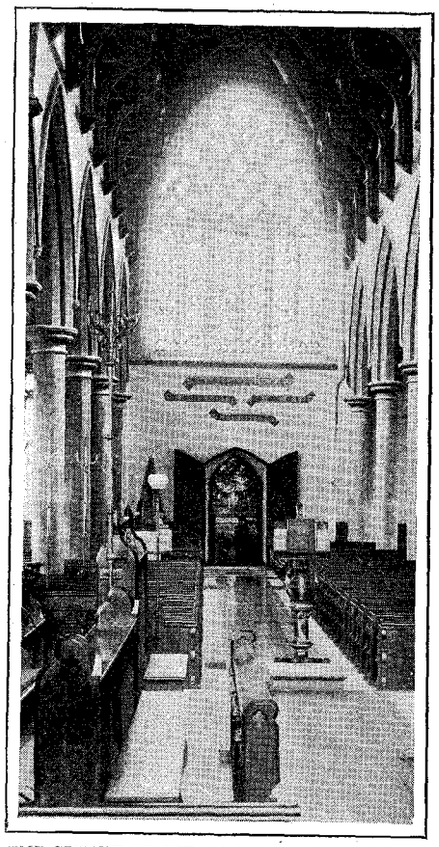
ROME AND THE NEW WORLD

BY P. W. WILSON

NOT since the days of Luther has the Vatican faced a situation so full of uncertainties—of possibilities—as that which greets the successor to Pope Benedict XV. The choice of Cardinal Ratti is in itself significant. His rapid promotion, his athletic physique, his mountaineering zeal, mean that here is a Pontiff who will broaden the Catholic appeal. He becomes Pope not as an ecclesiastic merely but as a man of muscle and individuality. He blesses the people from the outside of St. Peter's, not from the inside. He is the prisoner of the Vatican who intends to escape.

Many are the evidences of a counter-Reformation which might substantially change the balance between Catholic and Protestant. The war has not turned people into atheists, but has led them, rather, to mistrust a modern progress away from religion. "Pure reason" as developed in Prussia did not keep the peace, but produced poison gas, and science seemed to be summed up in submarines. Hence we see Bernard Shaw returning at least to Methuselah, while for the sake of argument H. G. Wells concedes God. Sir Oliver Lodge, once agnostic, delivers other-worldly lectures; and in Scotland and northern England there has been a spontaneous revival, evoking comparisons with the life-work of the Wesleys, Whitefield, Fox, and Moody, or with the spiritual experiences of Wales. Finally, we have had a President of the United States inaugurating a Conference of the Powers, and among them Japan and China, with the Lord's Prayer.

In this atmosphere the Roman Church has displayed a world-wide and careful activity. Sir Charles Dilke, who was in his day a high authority, considered that the diplomats of the Papacy were the ablest in the world. If diplomacy can restore a faith, assuredly Rome is once more formidable. With exquisite timeliness, Joan of Arc has been canonized and France in victory receives a



THE SHRINE OF STE. ANNE AT THE CHURCH OF STE. ANNE DE BEAUPRÉ, QUEBEC

This is one of the most celebrated shrines of the New World. Thousands of people annually make pilgrimages to this place to pray before the shrine, which contains a relic of the saint

patron saint. Canonized also is Bishop Plunkett, of Ireland, hung, drawn, and quartered during the Popish Plot. It is doubtless an undesigned coincidence that both these saints were martyred by England! The Protestant halo which surrounds Nurse Cavell is reflected by a Catholic halo around Cardinal Mercier, also revered by mankind. Organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association are not only denounced as subversive of faith and morals; they are challenged by rivals like the Knights of Columbus. And in these days of the camera the Church of Rome has this further advantage—she photographs admirably. Not only does she paint pictures—she is one. In the movies her ceremonial reaches to the ends of the earth. Of her pageantry she makes no secret. Her mysteries are frankly displayed. If a great ecclesiastic dies, his body lies in state, without reserve. His face is seen. In the inner life, let us say, of the Quakers, there is nothing for the film. It is like leaven hidden in three measures of meal. It is a kingdom that cometh without observation.

As an example of the emotions which are stirring the world, one may mention faith healing. Whatever may be the troubles of Christian Scientists in Boston, their crusade continues in England. Shrines like Lourdes or Sainte Anne de Beaupré in Quebec have never been more popular. Even the Anglican Church has developed its healing ministry; and a glance at the Report of the Rockefeller Foundation, with the news that never has the death rate in New York fallen as low as it is to-day, suggests that medicine also is working its scientific miracles, and so carrying forward the first main task of the Saviour when on earth. Under such circumstances, signs and wonders are to be expected. From Ireland we have reports of cripples being cured through bleeding statues and holy pictures, while Cardinal Newman, who was so interested in ecclesiastical miracles, would have noted, had he been alive, the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, which happily foretold the failure of revolutionary troubles in Italy.

If, however, the influence of the Catholic Church has sometimes tended towards superstition, that influence has also made for sober manners. Pope Benedict XV declared that "on the domestic hearth woman is queen." He denounced extravagance of dress; and

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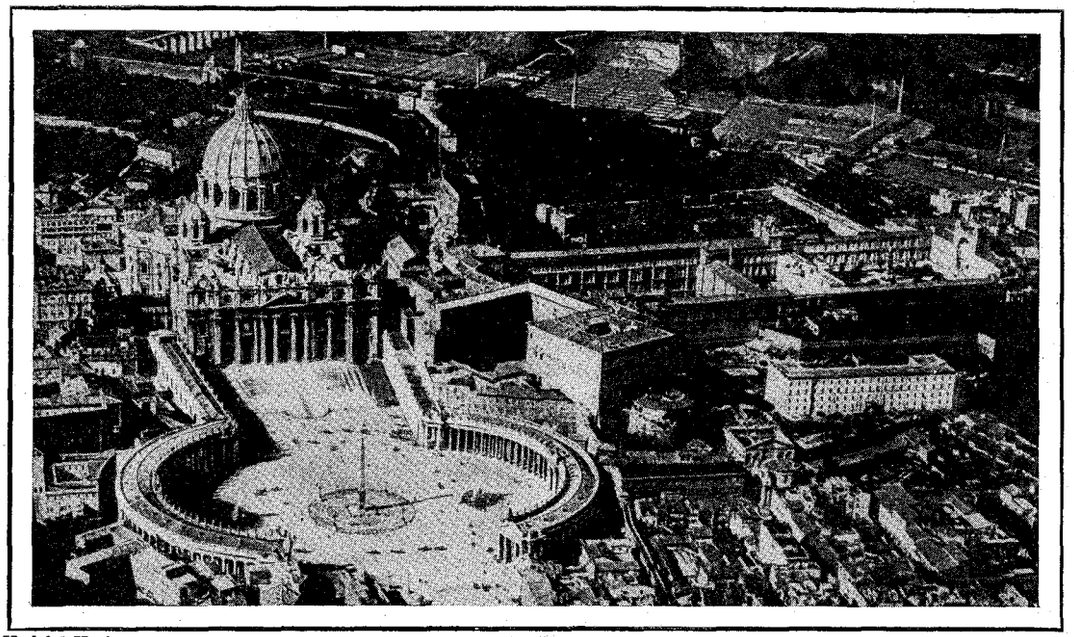

Kadel & Herbert

AN AIRPLANE VIEW OF ST. PETER'S, WITH THE VATICAN BUILDINGS ON THE RIGHT

in Spain, the United States, and other countries the hierarchy emphasized his message, even interrupting the rite of marriage unless the company were clothed according to "Christian modesty." Against divorce the Church stands so firm that there are cities in the United States where moving pictures in which the stars have figured prominently in matrimonial suits are not easily shown. Certain incidents which accompanied the campaign for birth control are part of the same Catholic policy. With a profound discernment, the Papacy has appealed for conservatism in manners and morals as well as in theology. It is essentially the appeal made by the black coat of an American President. It is also the appeal deliberately enforced against the smart set by the British Court. Catholicism is now no longer identified with bull-fights, the Continental Sunday, absinthe, and the stiletto! Catholicism is, or seeks to be, mid-Victorian.

Hence what has been called "the procession to the Vatican" as to a steadying factor in the world's affairs. The cynic may say that statesmen, afraid of Bolshevism, were glad of any port in a storm. Be that as it may, with the world becoming republican, we have the amazing fact that the number of countries with representatives accredited to the Holy See has doubled. Before the war it was a dozen; now it is more nearly thirty. Even Britain and Holland are included. Hitherto the Papacy has cultivated the good will of monarchs. Now it must deal with democracies; and it fell to the lot of Pope Benedict XV to recognize—indeed, to welcome—the inevitable. After all, even Catholic monarchs have not always acted as obedient sons of the Church. There was Henry VIII. There was Napoleon Bonaparte. There was Louis XIV. There was the veto of the Hapsburgs which prevented Rampolla being Pope. And among Protestant "despots" there was Bismarck, there was George III. What the Papacy is now organizing is no longer the divine right of kings, but voting power among the peoples. In France Catholics are released from the royalist allegiance. In Italy they are no longer warned against elections but urged to record their suffrages, with the result that there has been formed under Don Luigi Sturzo, a Sicilian priest, the Italian Popular Party, which, it is hoped, will become the nucleus of a White International—the Christian alternative to the Red International. In the United States there have been various pronouncements on social reconstruction of a liberal character.

The policy of winning the people instead of merely cultivating the friendship of their rulers has had results. There were tens of thousands of priests in the French army, and as soldiers they were infinitely more powerful for the Church than they would have been if they had claimed the privileged exemption allowed by Britain to her clergy. France is not Catholic. But she no longer holds what Catholicism she has merely "for export." In Italy the active quarrel between Church and State is at an end. The theory that the Pope is a prisoner of the Vatican, that he is restrained by some civil usurpation from exercising his office, that his letters are opened, and so on, has always been a polite fiction. The Pope can at any time go anywhere or receive any one or anything that he wants. But his attempt to forbid Catholic sovereigns visiting the King of Italy—he even objected to the discretion of Theodore Roosevelt—was by no means unreal. It was almost a cause of war on one occasion between Austria and Italy, and it has been most wisely abandoned. Indeed, cardinals today drink tea with the royal house of Savoy, and an Italian Minister formally presented condolences at the Vatican on the death of Benedict XV. It is true that no panegyric on him was pronounced in the Italian Parliament. But it is also true that the Italian Government which desired this without securing it fell from power. The Catholics have become a force in Italian politics.

Even so stanch a Whig as Macaulay has admitted that "it is better that men should be governed by priestcraft than by brute violence, by such a prelate as Dunstan than by such a warrior as Penda." What Pope Benedict XV aimed at was to be the Dunstan who restrains the Penda. He supported the principles underlying a League of Nations. He asked to be represented at Versailles, but Italy would not have it. He has pronounced against conscription and the worst horrors of war. His voice materially contributed to a settlement in Ireland. But it must not be supposed that his record has commanded universal assent. At a time when the Protestant and Eastern Churches are drawing together, when important conferences are held and contemplated to discuss either reunion or intercommunion, Rome stands aloof, as haughty as ever. She will join with no other body of Christians. All Christians must first join her. The Papacy has still to emerge from that terrific scene in 1870 when, with France tottering, and tottering also the Temporal Power, Pius IX, undeterred by peals of coincident thunder, signed his own infallibility amid a daylight dark-

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International

LOOKING ACROSS THE PIAZZA DI SAN PIETRO FROM THE CATHEDRAL STEPS

ness which was only relieved by candles held above the challenging manuscript.

The future of Roman Catholicism, though brighter than before and, some would say, of a dazzling prospect, is by no means free from perplexity. Statistics are published showing hundreds of millions of Catholics even in Europe; but these figures are nominal. In no real sense are there, for instance, thirty-five million of the faithful in France The Vatican is, by admission, in need of funds. Not only have the revenues of the Papal States come to an end, but contributions from Austria, Hungary, Poland—to mention only three Catholic countries—must have most grievously declined. This means that the Pope is now dependent more than ever before upon the tribute which he receives from the New World, and especially from the United States. This country is one where, as England discovered to her cost, taxation without representation, and especially taxation by the Old World, needs a good deal of defending. Hence it must be considered a serious question whether the existing constitution of the College of Cardinals can be maintained. From a recent book of reference I gather the list which is printed in the adjoining column.

That means a clear majority for Italy. And at a Conclave the under-representation of the New World is the more noticeable because time is not allowed for the four non-European Cardinals to arrive and vote. In other words, the Catholics of North and South America at present exercise no influence over the choice of the Pontiff. The explanation of the anomaly is of course curious and interesting. The Pope is not only the Holy Father of Catholic Christians. He is Bishop of Rome. The Cardinals are in a technical sense his local clergy—his suffragan bishops, his priests, his deacons. Each has his parish in the Eternal City. But, however keenly the antiquarian may appreciate this tradition, one must face the fact that the election, let us say, of the Bishop of New York, in which the laity participate, in which the whole Church concerned has a voice, in which the proceedings are public, seems to be more in line with equity and the custom of to-day than the picturesque proceedings in the sealed chambers and chapels of the Vatican.

What the Church has to guard against is another breach between her Italian body-guard and her faithful beyond the Alps. The country which bred Julius Cæsar, Dante, Michael Angelo, and most of the Popes deserves a world-wide empire over men's minds. But, after all, the predominance of Italy in the Papacy was at least a contributing cause of the Reformation in northern Europe and in Britain. And the Italian view on many subjects, particularly the relations of the Papacy with other Christian bodies, may not be at all the real and considered view of Catholics outside Italy and Europe. A large increase in the proportion of non-Italian Cardinals would seem to be needed by the circumstances of the case, and with it a somewhat more elastic arrangement for their attendance, when summoned, at Rome. The situation is, if one may say so, somewhat similar to that of England and her Dominions. More and more she has found it wise to recognize the sentiments and the susceptibilities of her distant adherents.

THE NATIONALITY OF THE CARDINALS

Italian Cardinals			29
Other European—	French	8	
	Spanish	5	
	Portuguese	2	
	Austrian	2	
	English	2	
	Belgian	1	
	Dutch	1	
	German	1	
	Sicilian	1	
	Hungarian	1	24
Non-European—	American	2	
	Brazilian	1	
	Canadian	1	4
Total			57

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UNCLE GILES

BY DOROTHY CANFIELD

THE THIRD OF A SERIES OF FIVE EXCURSIONS ALONG THE BYWAYS OF HUMAN NATURE

MOST personalities get pretty well blurred and dimmed by the time they are handed down through the indifferent, inattentive stories of several generations. But the personality of my Great-Uncle Giles has suffered no such partial obliteration. It has come down to us with outlines keen and sharply bitten into the family consciousness, with the acid of exact recollection. And in his case family stories are by no means indifferent. To this day you have only to mention Uncle Giles to one of our name to see our bristles rise.

This is not at all because Uncle Giles ever disgraced the family or did any evil or wicked action. Quite the contrary. Uncle Giles thought that he was the only member of the entire tribe with any fineness or delicacy of feeling, with any aristocratic distinction of person or manner, with any fitness for a higher sphere of activities than the grubby middle-class world of his kinsmen. Yes, that is exactly what Uncle Giles thought, probably adding that he often felt himself a gentleman among canaille. The intense prejudice of all our name against any one openly professing to be a gentleman may be laid to this. If he adds, or any one adds for him, "among canaille," you can see the froth begin to show white at the corners of our mouths.

A gentleman should not be forced to the menial task of earning his living. Uncle Giles was never forced to the menial task of earning his living. No power on earth could force him to it, not even the combined and violent efforts of a good many able-bodied and energetic kinspeople. The tales of how Uncle Giles blandly outwitted their coarse attacks on him and succeeded to the end of a very long life in living without work are endless, infinite in their variety, and for three generations now have wrought the members of our family to wrath and laughter. He was incredible. You can't imagine anything like him unless you have had him in your family too.

Uncle Giles was preparing for the ministry for many years—years when his people did not know him so well as later, and still believed that with a little more help Giles would be able to get on his feet. He was a great favorite in the theological seminary where he was a student for so long, a handsome, well-set-up blond young man, with beautiful large blue eyes. I know just how he looked, for we have an expensive miniature that was painted of him at the time. He paid for that miniature with the money my great-grandfather pried out of a Vermont farm. It had been sent him to pay for his board. So of course more money had to be sent for his board. You can't abandon a son just on the point of becoming a clergyman and being a credit to the entire family. Great-grandfather had no more money to send at that time, but his other sons, hard-working, energetic, successful men, clubbed together and made up the amount. Uncle Giles thanked them and forwarded with his letter, to show them, as he said, "that their bounty was not ill-advised," a beautifully bound high-priced little red morocco note-book in which he had written down the flattering things said of him by his professors and others—especially others. He underlined certain passages, thus: "A very worthy young man, *most pleasing in society*." A model to all *in the decorum and grace of his manners*."

His board bill had to be paid a good many times before Uncle Giles finally gave up preparing himself for the ministry. The summer vacations of this period he spent in visiting first one and then another member of the family, a first-rate ornament on the front porch and at the table, admired by the ladies of the neighborhood, a prime favorite on picnics and on the croquet ground. He always seemed to have dropped from a higher world into the rough middle-class existence of his kin, but his courtesy was so exquisite that he refrained from commenting on this in any way. Still, you could see that he felt it. Especially if you were one of the well-to-do neighbors on whom the distinguished young theological student paid evening calls; and you admired his quiet tact and his steady loyalty to his commonplace family.

The effect which his quiet tact and steady loyalty had on his commonplace family was so great that it has persisted undiminished to this day. Any one of us, to the remotest cousin, can spot an Uncle Giles as far as we can see him. We know all about him, and it is not on *our* front porches that he comes to display his tact and loyalty and the decorum and grace of his manners. As for allowing the faintest trace of Uncle-Gilesism to color our own lives, there is not one of us who would not rush out to earn his living by breaking stone by the roadside before sinking to that. We are, just as Uncle Giles felt, a very commonplace family, of the most ordinary Anglo-Saxon stock, with no illuminating vein of imaginative Irish or Scotch or Welsh blood; and I think it very likely that if we had not experienced Uncle Giles we would have been the stodgiest of the stodgy as far as social injustice is concerned. But our imaginations seem to have been torn open by Uncle Giles as by a charge of dynamite; and, having once understood what he means, we hang to it with our dull Anglo-Saxon tenacity. We have a deep, unfailing sympathy with any one who is trying to secure a better and fairer adjustment of burdens in human life, because we see in our plain dull way that all he is trying to do is to eliminate the Uncle Gileses from society and force them to work. And we are always uneasily trying to make sure that we are not in the bigger scheme, without realizing it, Uncle-Gilesing it, ourselves.

After a while Uncle Giles stopped preparing for the ministry and became an invalid. He bore this affliction with the unaffected manly courage which was always one of his marked characteristics. He never complained, he "bore up" in all circumstances, even on busy wash-days when there was no time to prepare one of the dainty little dishes which the delicacy of his taste enabled him so greatly to appreciate. Uncle Giles always said of the rude, vigorous, hearty, undiscriminating men of the family that they could "eat anything." His accent in saying this was the wistful one of resigned envy of their health.

It has been a point of honor with us all ever since to be able to "eat anything," and any one, even a legitimate invalid, who is inclined to be fastidious and make it difficult for the others feels a united family glare concentrating on him, which makes him, in a panic, reach out eagerly for the boiled pork and cabbage.

Uncle Giles's was a singular case, "one of those mysterious maladies which baffle even the wisest physicians," as he used to say himself. A good many ladies in those days had mysterious maladies which baffled even the wisest physicians, and they used to enjoy Uncle Giles above everything. No other man had such an understanding of their symptoms and such sympathy for their sufferings. The easy chair beside Uncle Giles's invalid couch was seldom vacant. Ladies going away after having left a vaseful of flowers for him, and a plateful of cake and two or three jars of jelly and some cold breasts of chicken, would say, with shining, exalted countenances: "In spite of his terrible trials, what an inspiration our friend can be! An hour with that good man is like an hour on Pisgah."

They would, as like as not, make such a remark to the brave invalid's brother, or cousin, or, in later years, nephew, who was making the money to keep the household going. I am afraid we are no longer as a family very sure what or where Pisgah is, although we know it is in the Bible somewhere, but there

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is a fierce family tradition against fussing over your health which is as vivid this minute as on the day when the brother, or cousin, or nephew of Uncle Giles turned away with discourteous haste from the shining-faced lady and stamped rudely into another room. Doctors enter our homes when there is a broken leg or a confinement case to care for; but seldom for anything else.

When the Civil War came on, and Uncle Giles was the only man in the family left at home, he rose splendidly to the occasion and devoted himself to the instruction of his kinswomen, ignorant of the technique of warfare. From his invalid couch he explained to them the strategy of the great battles in which their brothers and husbands and fathers were fighting, and when the letters from hospitals came with news of the wounded who but Uncle Giles was competent to understand and explain the symptoms reported? As a rule, the women of his family were too frantically busy with their Martha-like concentration on the mere material problems of war-time life to give these lucid and intellectual discussions of strategy the attention and consideration they deserved. The war, however, though it seemed endless, lasted, after all, but four years. And when it was over, Uncle Giles was free to go back to discussions more congenial to his literary and æsthetic tastes.

By the time he was past middle age, "a butterfly broken on the wheel of life," as he said, it was of course out of the question to expect him to think of earning his own living. He had become a family institution by that time, too, firmly embedded in the solidly set cement of family habits. The older generation always had taken care of him, the younger saw no way out and with an unsurprised resignation bent their shoulders to carry on. So before any other plans could be made Uncle Giles had to be thought of. Vacations were taken *seriatim*, not to leave Uncle Giles alone. In buying or building a house care had to be taken to have a room suitable for Uncle Giles when it was your turn to have him. If the children had measles, one of the first things to do was to get Uncle Giles into some other home, so that he would not be quarantined. That strange law of family life which ordains that the person most difficult to please is always, in the long run, the one to please whom most efforts are made, worked out in its usual complete detail. The dishes Uncle Giles liked were the only ones served, since the other men could "eat anything;" the songs Uncle Giles liked were the only ones sung, the houses were adjusted to him, the very color of the rugs and the pictures on the walls were selected to suit Uncle Giles's taste.

Looking back through the perspective of a generation and a half, I can see the exact point of safely acknowledged middle age when Uncle Giles's health began cautiously to improve; but it must have been imperceptible to those around him, so gradual was the change. His kin grew used to each successive stage of his recovery before they realized that it was there, and nobody seems to have been surprised to have Uncle Giles pass into a remarkably hale and vigorous old age. "Invalids often are strong in their later years," he said of himself; "it is God's compensation for their earlier sufferings."

He passed into the full rewards of the most rewarded old age. It was a period of apotheosis for him, and a very lengthy one at that, for he lived to be well past eighty. In any gathering Uncle Giles, erect and handsome, speckless attired, his smooth old face neatly shaved, with a quaint, gentle, old world courtesy and protecting chivalry in his manner to ladies, was a conspicuous and much-admired figure. People brought visitors to town to call on him and to hear him tell in his vivid, animated way of old times in the country. His great specialty was stories of the Civil War. At any gathering where veterans of the war were to be honored Uncle Giles held every one breathless with his descriptions of Gettysburg and Chancellorsville; and when he spoke of Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation, and Sherman's march, how his voice pealed, his fine eyes lighted up! Strangers used to say to themselves that it was easy to see what an eloquent preacher he must have been when he was in the active ministry. The glum old men in worn blue coats used to gather in a knot in the farthest corner and in low tones, not to interrupt his discourse, would chat to each other of crops and fishing and politics.

In an early issue The Outlook will publish Dorothy Canfield's "Colonel Shays" and later "Uncle Ellis," two more of her "excursions along the byways of human nature."

Somewhere we have a scrap-book in which an ironic cousin of mine carefully preserved and pasted all the newspaper articles that were written about Uncle Giles in his old age and the many handsome obituary notices which appeared when he finally died. I can remember my father's getting it out occasionally and reading the clippings to himself with a very grim, stern expression on his face; but it always moved my light-hearted, fun-loving mother to peals of laughter. After all, she was related to Uncle Giles only by marriage, and felt no responsibility for him. I have said that we are not a remarkable family in any way, but perhaps I ought to take that back, for we are strongly marked, all of us, with the greatest distaste for what is rather a big temptation to many such ordinary people as we are. We have the liveliest aversion to newspaper mention of our names, especially connected with praise for any good works we may happen to be attempting. So far from any satisfaction in such personal publicity, we all feel a hangdog shame. Perhaps you can understand why.

The other day in looking over some old legal papers I came across a yellowed letter, folded and sealed, as was the habit before envelopes were common, with three handsome pale-blue seals on its back. The seals were made with the crested cameo ring which Uncle Giles always wore, bearing what he insisted was the "coat of arms" of our family. Have I mentioned to you that we are all marked with a fierce hatred for any form of hereditary claim to good birth and aristocratic connections, and all that nonsense?

The handwriting of the letter was beautiful, formed with an amorous pride in every letter. It was from Uncle Giles to one of his uncles, my great-great-grandfather's brother. I had never seen it before, as it had lain lost there for half a century or more; but every word of it was familiar to me as I glanced it over. It began with Uncle Giles's polished courtesy, with inquiries after every member of his uncle's family, and a pleasant, condescending word for each one. He detailed the state of his health, which, alas! left much to be desired, and seemed, so the doctors told him, to require urgently a summer in the mountains. Then, leaving this subject, he jumped to the local news and told one or two amusing stories of the town where he was staying. In one of them I remember was this phrase, "I told her I might be poor, but that a gentleman of good birth did not recognize poverty as a member of the family." Through a neat transition after this he led up again to the subject of his health and to the desirability of his passing some months in the mountains, "in the pure air of God's great hills." Then he entered upon a discreet, pleasant, whimsical reference to the fact that only a contribution from his uncle's purse could make this possible. There never was anybody who could beat Uncle Giles on ease and grace and pleasant, pungent humor when it came to asking for money. The only person embarrassed in that situation was the one of whom Uncle Giles was expecting the loan.

I read no more. With no conscious volition of mine, my hand had scrunched the letter into a ball and my arm, without my bidding, had hurled the ball into the heart of the fire.

But as I reflected on the subject afterwards, and thought of what a splendid influence Uncle Giles has always been in our family, it occurred to me that I was wrong. Uncle Giles ought not to be forgotten. I ought to have saved that letter to show to my children.

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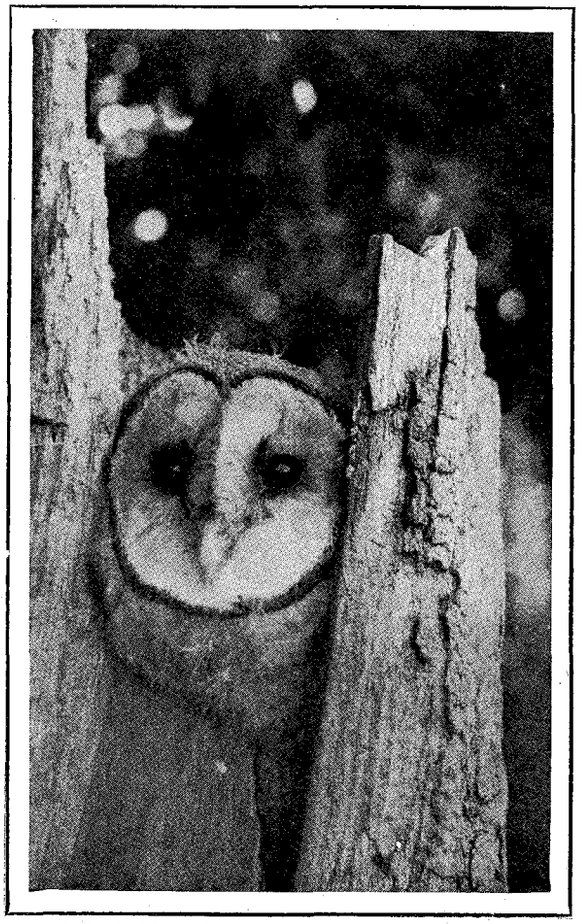
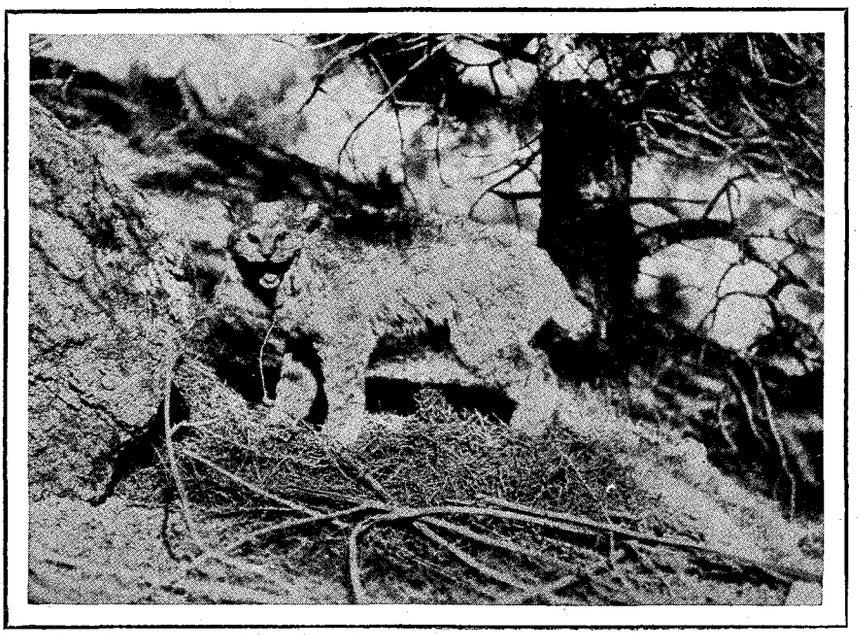
THE OWL AND THE PUSSY-CAT

PICTURES FROM OUTLOOK READERS



From G. D. Smith, Richmond, Kentucky

THE OWL



From Evan Hammerstrom, Pine, Colorado

THE PUSSY-CAT

The camera, our informant states, was placed near by and exposure made by means of a string attached, sprung by the pussy-cat, which in this case is also known as a bobcat

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THE BOOK TABLE

POETRY AND COLLAR-BUTTONS

BY DOROTHY GILES

"I SEE," said Philemon, "that the educators have begun to take up poetry in a serious way."

I am not generally accounted an unlettered person, nor one whose ears are unattuned to a concourse of sweet sounds, yet—as well admit it first as last—I groaned. Are we to be educated in poetry, forsooth? To be primed with quatrains? Forced to sit *in statu pupillari* while oracular young Gamaliels in horn spectacles mount the rostrum and dissect a sonnet for our edification? Prut! shall nothing be left us to discover for ourselves?

My sentiments are perhaps the more embittered because I am not myself an educated person, as Philemon has taken pains to point out. That truth has been borne in upon me more than once of late. Though a neat five feet five by my tailor's yardstick, I shrink into puny insignificance when measured by the standards imposed by the keen-eyed gentlemen of the advertisements who point suspicious fingers and demand, "Are you educated?" Mr. Edison's questionnaire was not needed to reveal the haphazardness of my mental equipment, which is like Autolycus's pack, filled with come-by-chances and unconsidered trifles. For no solicitous cicerone guided me by carefully graded steps up the slopes of Parnassus. Rather was my introduction to Apollo one of rollicking informality.

Ours was a nursery built on the generous proportions of the days before obdurate landlords and the H. C. L. took it upon themselves to regulate the size of families. Across one wall were ranged three beds and the wooden crib from which each of us had in turn been graduated to make room for a new tenant, and opposite this wall, and in full view of one lying snugly beneath the blankets, were two doors. One led prosaically enough into the hall and served as an entrance for nurse or the housemaids bearing brooms; the other, into my father's dressing-room. That door was seldom shut. Through its narrow proscenium we saw my father come and go, could watch the intimate ceremonies of hair-brushing and cravat-tying, and—oh, most wonderful!—were drawn into the circle of the mystic Nine. For it was my father's habit, not to stand Narcissus-like before his glass as he dressed, but to pace the floor, and as he strode to repeat aloud in his full voice with its faint suspicion of an Ulster burr, scraps of the verse with which his memory was stored.

"Word was brought to the Danish king
(Hurry!)
That the love of his heart lay suffering."

Ah! The terror of it clutched my throat. I stood tense, one stocking on, one a limp banner in my hand, to listen to the thrilling lay:

"And pined for the comfort his voice would bring
(O! ride as though you were flying.)"

Hurry, O king! Spur your charger on beside the frozen northland fjord. A little girl in ruffled petticoats and hair unbrushed shivers with suspense.

"Better he loves each golden curl
On the brow of that Scandinavian girl
Than his rich crown jewels of ruby and pearl."

Here was high romance. Cinderella and her prince were pallid creatures beside this northland Cophetua.

"And his Rose of the Isles lay dying."

Does any one read "The King of Denmark's Ride" nowadays, I wonder? Or have the educators flouted Gustavus Vasa along with "Marco Bozzaris" and "The Irish Emigrant," all of whom one used to meet within the respectable confines of the Third Reader? Horrible thought! Perhaps the "First Lesson in Poetry" now begins with polyphonic prose.

There were mornings when we went on pilgrimage with Childe Harold:

"Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll!
Ten thousand fleets sweep over thee in vain."

Ferris's Pond, where we went to try out our double-runner skates during the Christmas holidays, was the only body of water more extensive than my bath that I had ever seen. But now I stood upon a curving strand, I saw the proud triremes of Nineveh and caravels of Spain sweep by, the horizon was filled with bellying sails, the salt spume stung my cheeks. For my father belonged to a generation which devoured its Byron as had an earlier one its Pope. I have heard it told of his father that, coming in, book in hand, and finding his offspring seated expectantly about the dinner table, he sat down at the head of the board and read them the whole first canto of "The Corsair" while the soup cooled in the tureen and the old nurse-housekeeper glowered in the doorway, yet dared not interrupt.

Not that we received our dole of poesy in such generous servings. On the contrary. Nor was the recital without interruptions, as all who have struggled to insert gold studs into stiffly starched buttonholes will appreciate. But, this accomplished, the minstrel once more took up his lay, often enough in more jocund vein, trolling out the stanzas as might one who, having overcome his adversary, goes light-heartedly upon his way:

"As I was going to Salisbury
All on a market day,
I chanced to meet a pretty maid
A-going the selfsame way."

Once, late in the night, I awoke. Through the half-open door glowed a thin thread of light, and I knew that my father was making ready to go out. Lying there snug in my bed, I pictured William in the stable, grumbling as he put the sorrel to the gig, and I saw in imagination the dark avenue with fearsome shadows lurking behind every tree. Then reassuringly came the sound of my father's footsteps, hushed on our account, but lacking none of their accustomed firmness, and in a moment his voice:

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting
And cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home."

Long after the gig's lamps had winked in at the nursery window and the sorrel's hoof beats died away did I lie wide-eyed and staring in the dark. In one illumined moment I was made aware of the intrinsic value of life, though stripped of all its gifts, and, filled with incalculable wonder, I entered upon my heritage.

Hang your heads, O wise young Solons! That open sesame lies not in hornbooks nor in hustings. As certain of your own poets have said, "Beside the education of the heart, all else is mere moonshine."

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

MIDNIGHT. By Octavus Roy Cohen. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.75.

The mystery of a murder is cleverly put before the reader. A woman, carrying a bag, gets into a supposedly empty taxicab at midnight at a railway station and orders the driver to take her to a certain address. When he gets there, the woman is not in the cab, but a murdered man is; and the bag handed to the driver by the woman turns out to belong to this murdered man and contains his clothes. The driver is honest and innocent. The explanation is logical, if not quite probable.

SLEEPING FIRES. By Gertrude Atherton. The Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

Mrs. Atherton's stories seem to have a tendency to alternate between elaborate, well-thought-out novels, such as "The Perch of the Devil" and "The Sisters-in-Law," on the one hand, and pot-boilers like "The Avalanche" and "Mrs. Balfame," on the other hand. This new story, "Sleeping Fires," belongs to the

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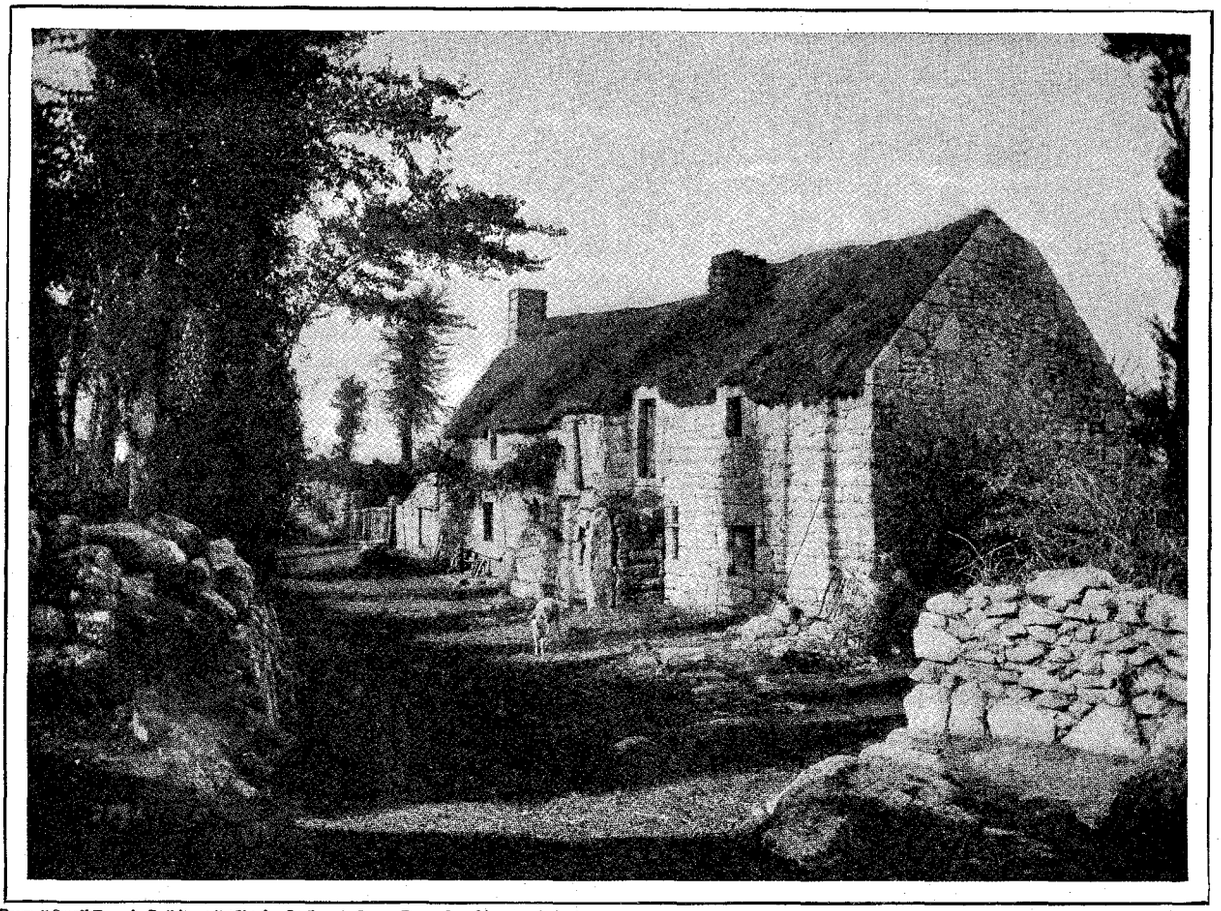

From "Small French Buildings" (Charles Scribner's Sons. Reproduced by permission)

A BRITTANY COTTAGE

less admirable division. It is so sensational as to be yellow and even more disagreeable than it is tragical. It is certainly a long distance from "The Conqueror" to "Sleeping Fires."

BIOGRAPHY

DANIEL BOONE AND THE WILDERNESS ROAD. By H. Addington Bruce. Illustrated. New edition. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

A new edition of a well-conceived and well-executed biography—lucid, entertaining, informative, giving a picture of the stirring times in which Boone lived as well as a vivid account of his life as trapper, explorer, Indian fighter, road-builder, and public official.

GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE AFTER APPOMATTOX. Edited by Franklin L. Riley. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

General Lee's attractive personality is described by his loving friends in this book, appropriately published as a semi-centennial memorial. Many interesting anecdotes illustrating the character of the great leader of the armies of the Confederacy are told, some of them, we believe, not before in print.

HEROINES OF MODERN PROGRESS. By Elmer C. Adams and Warren Dunham Foster. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

Women of such diverse aims and views as Elizabeth Fry, Mary Lyon, Florence Nightingale, Clara Barton, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Jane Addams are grouped together in this series of brief biographies. The accounts of their contributions to progress are full of incident and will make interesting reading to the rising generation.

MUSIC, PAINTING, AND OTHER ARTS

SMALL FRENCH BUILDINGS. By Lewis A. Coffin, Jr., Henry M. Polhemus, and Addison F. Worthington. Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $10.

This beautiful book is almost wholly a book of pictures. We wish that some of them might have been reproduced in color, for the tones of the building material used in French architecture form one of its chief charms. The volume shows us cottages, chapels, churches, and the smaller châteaux. They seem well-nigh as indigenous to French soil as do the poplars themselves. Such a book is almost a truer mirror of French life than are the many volumes which have been published concerning the great cathedrals and other large structures in France which have long taught the world what the highest aspirations in architecture mean. This lesson, indeed, has been so impressive as to drive into the background the lesson we may learn from the smaller examples of French architecture.

MISCELLANEOUS

EX-KAISER IN EXILE (THE). By Lady Norah Bentinck. Illustrated. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $3.50.

This is a feminine account of William II of Germany as he is to-day. The picture has merit, but the frame is heavy with unnecessary details. In the author's opinion, the ex-Kaiser's insanity of vanity is less pronounced than it was in the old days. His vanity, she supposes, is due to his lack of a sense of humor, "or, one might add, of seemliness." For instance, he once gave away some Bibles, so the author was told, and wrote in each of them:

"'I will walk among you and be your God, and ye shall be my people.'

'Walk ye in all the ways which I have commanded you.'

'Without me ye can do nothing.'

WILHELM, IMP. REX."

WORKING WITH THE WORKING WOMAN. By Cornelia Stratton Parker. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.

Mrs. Parker has the rare gift of being able to remember accurately what might seem at the moment to be unimportant conversations and then to philosophize interestingly about them. Not that all the talk she listened to during her experiences as a working-girl was trivial or all her comments philosophical. Some of the conversations she had with her fellow-workers in candy factory, laundry, or brass foundry were tragical in their significance, and much of her comment on her experiences is light-hearted and even humorous. But she combines in exceptional degree the ability to gather facts and to make telling generalizations about them. Her book is an unusual sociological document and it is highly entertaining.

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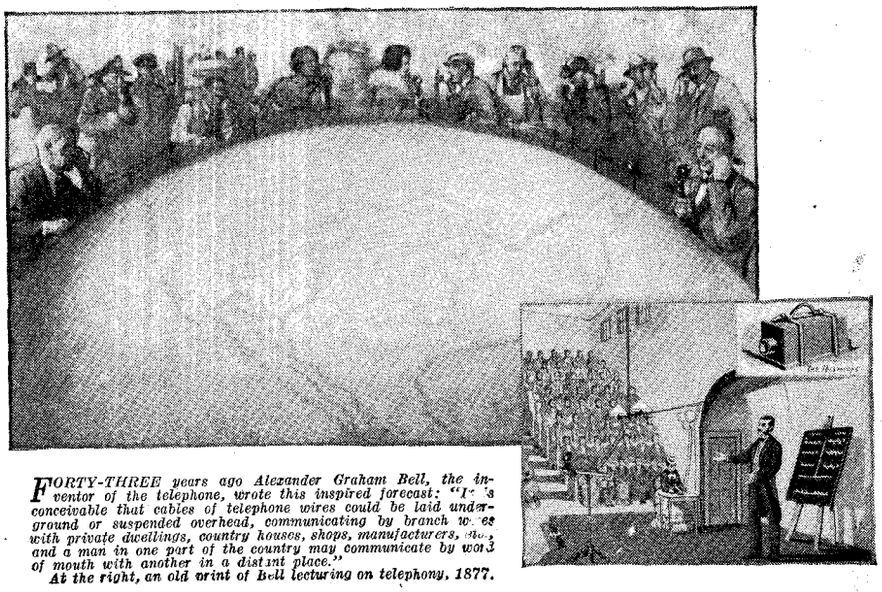

FORTY-THREE years ago Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, wrote this inspired forecast: "It is conceivable that cables of telephone wires could be laid underground or suspended overhead, communicating by branch wires with private dwellings, country houses, shops, manufacturers, etc., and a man in one part of the country may communicate by word of mouth with another in a distant place."
At the right, an old print of Bell lecturing on telephony, 1877.

Foresight

More than forty years ago, when the telephone was still in its experimental stage, with but a few wires strung around Boston, the men back of the undertaking foresaw a universal system of communication that would have its influence upon all phases of our social and commercial life.

They had a plan of organization capable of expansion to meet the growth they foresaw; and their wisdom is borne out by the fact that that plan which they established when telephones were numbered by dozens is efficient now when telephones are numbered by millions.

This foresight has advanced the scientific development of the art of telephony to meet the multiplied public requirements. It has provided for funds essential to the construction of plant; for the purchase of the best materials on the most advantageous terms; for the training of employees to insure skilled operators; for the extension of service in anticipation of growth, with the purpose that no need which can be foreseen and met will find the Bell System unprepared.

The foresight of the early pioneers has been developed into a science during the years which have elapsed, so that the planning of future operations has become a function of the Bell System. This is why the people of the United States have the most efficient and most economical telephone service in the world.

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The soothing antiseptic vapor is breathed all night, **making breathing easy,** relieving the cough and easing the sore throat and congested chest.

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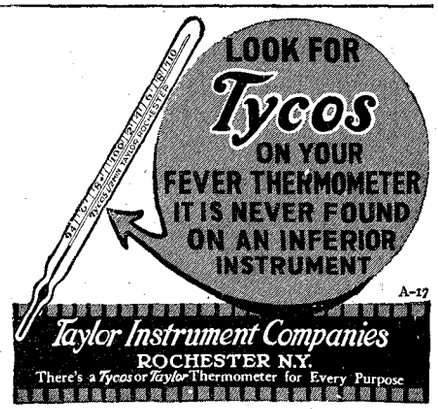

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FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

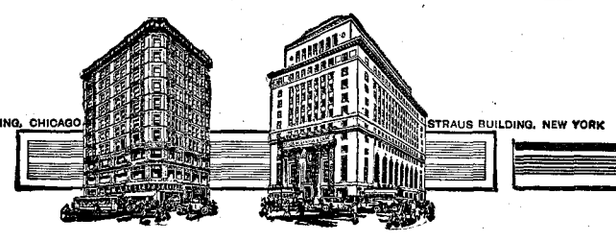
The Financial Department is prepared to furnish information regarding standard investment securities, but cannot undertake to *advise* the purchase of any specific security. It will give to inquirers facts of record or information resulting from expert investigation, and a nominal charge of one dollar per inquiry will be made for this special service. All letters of inquiry should be addressed to THE OUTLOOK FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE INCOME TAX FOR 1921

THE Bureau of Internal Revenue has given a great deal of publicity to the provisions of the new revenue act for the benefit of taxpayers who are required to file income-tax returns and pay a tax on their net incomes for 1921. In the belief that a concise summary of the requirements may be of benefit to individuals, however, we are led to outline the main features of the law once again.

First of all, income-tax returns must be in the hands of collectors of internal revenue on or before midnight, March 15, 1922. At least twenty-five per cent of the tax due must accompany the return, and extensions of time for filing returns are allowed only in exceptional cases. If an extension is desired, application should be made to the collector of internal revenue for the district in which the taxpayer lives, but no collector can grant an extension of more than thirty days. For failure to make a return on time the penalty is a fine of not more than $1,000 plus 25 per cent of the tax due. If the taxpayer chooses, he may pay his tax in full at the time of filing the return, or in four equal installments, due on or before March 15, June 15, September 15, and December 15.

For failure to pay the tax when due or for understatement of the tax through negligence there is a penalty of 5 per cent



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of the tax, plus interest at 1 per cent a month until paid. For making a false or fraudulent return the penalty is a fine of not more than $10,000 or not exceeding one year's imprisonment, or both, together with the cost of prosecution and an additional assessment of 50 per cent of the amount of tax paid.

The act requires that a return be filed by every unmarried person whose net income for 1921 was $1,000 or more, every married person whose net income was $2,000 or more, and by every person —single or married—whose gross income was $5,000 or more. This requirement that a return must be filed for a gross income of $5,000 or more regardless of net income is a new provision. Net income is gross income less certain specified deductions for business expenses, losses, bad debts, etc., which are fully explained on the forms.

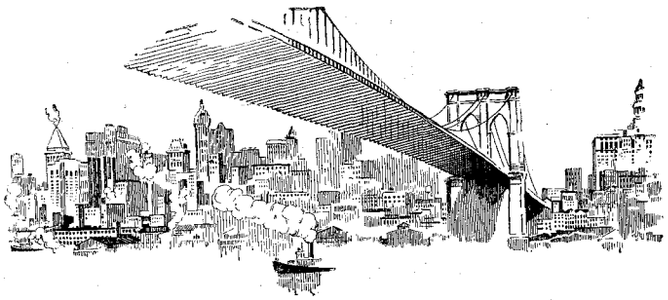
Returns must be filed by married couples whose combined net income for 1921, including that of dependent minor children, equaled or exceeded $2,000, or if the combined gross income equaled or exceeded $5,000.

Returns for incomes of $5,000 and less should be made on form 1040 A and for incomes in excess of $5,000 on form 1040. These forms may be obtained from the offices of collectors of internal revenue and branch offices. Your local bank can get you the one you need, and printed on the forms are complete directions for filling them out.

The new requirement that returns shall be made of gross income of $5,000 or more, regardless of the amount of net income upon which the tax is assessed, necessitates careful computation on the part of the taxpayer. Gross income includes practically every dollar received during the year 1921 in wages, salaries, commissions, royalties, rents, dividends, interest on bonds, mortgages, and bank deposits, "or income from any source whatsoever." Net income is gross income less certain deductions provided for by the act, including all business expenses incurred in conducting a business, trade, profession, or vocation.

Certain expenditures are not deductible as a business expense, however, when made for the purchase of articles more or less permanent in character or for the permanent improvement of property. A merchant, for instance, would not be permitted to deduct the cost of a new store or a farmer the cost of new farm machinery, such expenditures being regarded as capital investments. Nor is a family allowed to deduct living expenses, rent, repairs to a dwelling, the cost of clothing and food, servants' wages, education of children, and similar items.

The exemptions provided by the Revenue Act are $1,000 for single persons (the term including widows, widowers, divorced persons, and persons separated from husband and wife by mutual agreement), $2,500 for married persons whose net income for 1921 was $5,000 or less, and $2,000 for married persons whose net income was over $5,000. The personal exemption allowed a married person applies also to the



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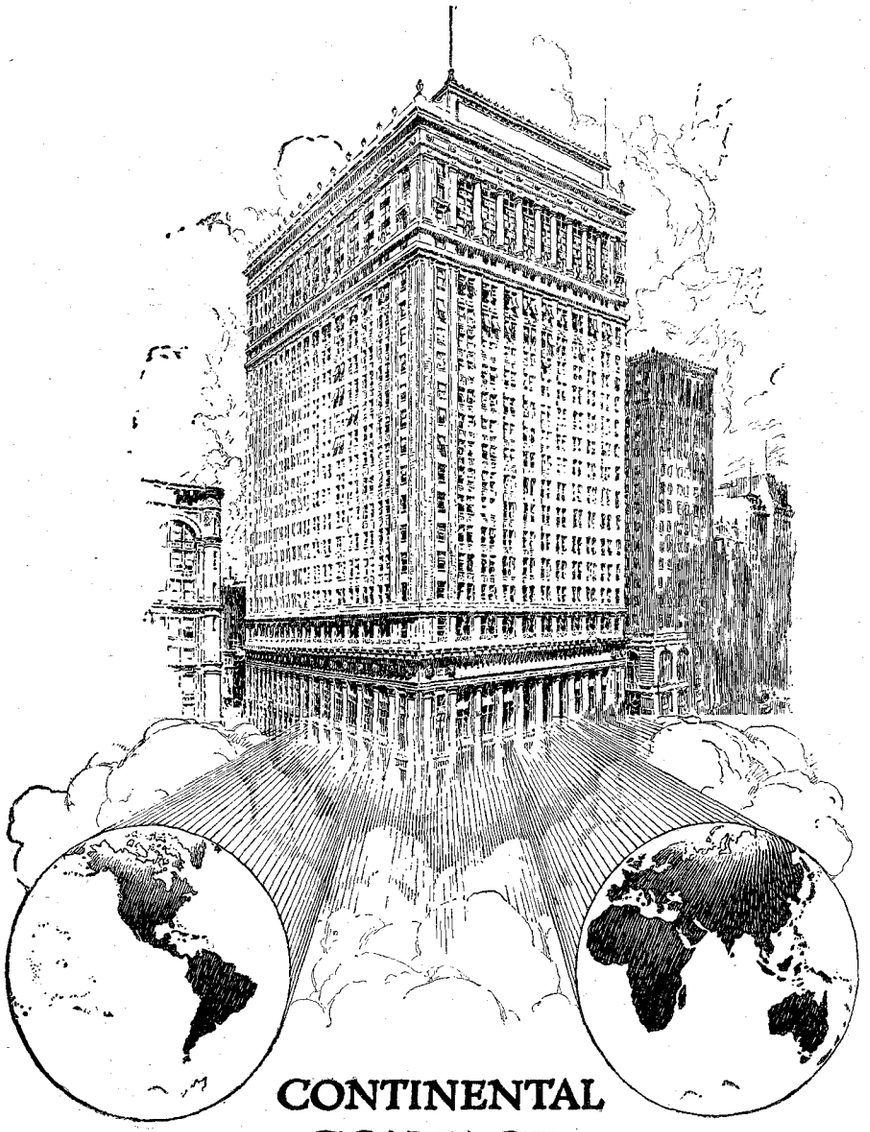

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head of a family—that is, a man or woman who supports *in one household* one or more relatives by blood, marriage, or adoption. Also there are exemptions for dependents—$400 for each person who receives his chief support from the taxpayer and who is under eighteen years of age or incapable of self-support because mentally or physically defective.

The normal tax is the same under the new law as provided in the previous one, 4 per cent on the first $4,000 of net income above the exemptions, and 8 per cent on the remaining net income. A married man with three children having a net income of $4,000 is entitled to a personal exemption of $2,500 plus $400 for each dependent, a total exemption of $3,700, leaving only $300 on which he is required to pay a tax, and this year such a tax will amount to $12. On the same income a year ago he would have been required to pay a tax of $56.

The special exemption of $3,500 formerly allowed soldiers and sailors in active service is not continued by the Revenue Act of 1921. Persons in the active military or naval service of the United States are now allowed only the exemptions granted other individuals. Former soldiers and sailors, however, in filing an income-tax return for 1921 should not include as gross income any amount received under the provisions of the War Risk Insurance and Vocational Rehabilitation Acts and as pensions from the United States for military or naval service during the war.

The return must be filed for the calendar year ending December 31, 1921, or for the fiscal year ending on the last day of any month other than December. The dates on which the period covered by the return begins and ends, if other than the calendar year, must be plainly stated at the head of the return.

Be sure to execute the affidavit, which is an important part of every return. The oath will be administered without charge by any collector, deputy collector, or any internal revenue agent. If none of these persons is available the return should be sworn to before a notary public, justice of the peace, or other person authorized to administer oaths.

If you do not understand how to fill out the return properly, take it to your bank and ask them to help you. Most

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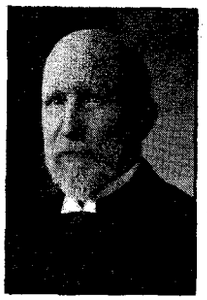
banks render this service nowadays, and the Government also makes a practice of having one of the deputy collectors in each town for a few days to answer questions and otherwise assist taxpayers with their returns. It is a wise precaution to avail one's self of the benefit of this assistance. In any event, don't put off the making of your return until the last minute. Questions may arise which will need solution, and a proper provision of time should be made against any such contingency.

CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY



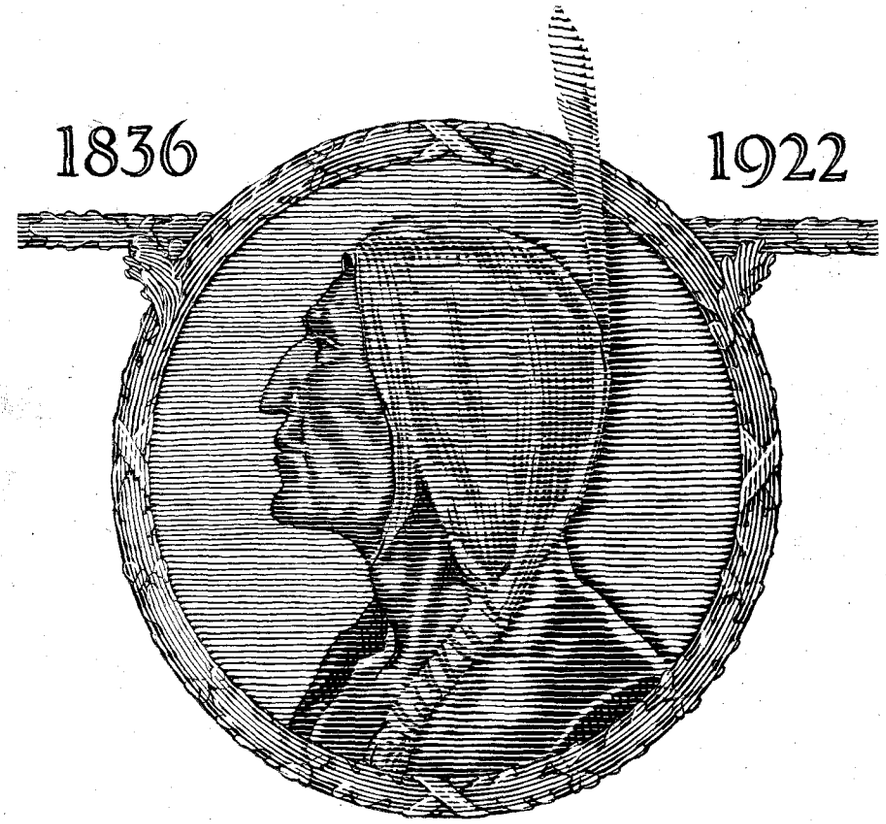
EVERETT PEPPERRELL WHEELER is a New York lawyer. He was born in 1840, and received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from the College of the City of New York and his LL.B. from Harvard. He has been closely associated with various local and National Civil Service commissions and in 1920 became Vice-President of the American Bar Association.

WE are glad to announce that Dorothy Canfield is again one of the contributors.

BRUNO ROSELLI, now a professor at Vassar, served during the war with the Italian War Mission in this country. He was given the simple task of supplying all the States west of Buffalo with information concerning Italian aims. On one occasion Lieutenant Roselli was jumped from Chicago to Fort Worth, Texas, by the War Mission, under the supposition that Texas was situated right next to Indiana. It turned out later that an old map at Italian headquarters had been responsible for the slight error of confusing what was once the Indian Territory with the Hoosier State.

JAMES ROWLAND ANGELL has a distinguished record as a psychologist and educator with a background of many years' training and experience both in this country and abroad. He was exchange professor at the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1914, and was for several years a member of the Faculty of the University of Chicago; in 1918 he became Acting President. Dr. Angell is now President of Yale University.

PAUL LEE ELLERBE contributes the second of his articles on naturalization. In 1919 he was assistant to John P. Gavit in preparing "Americans by Choice," destined to be the tenth volume in the series of Americanization Studies undertaken by the Carnegie Corporation of New York.



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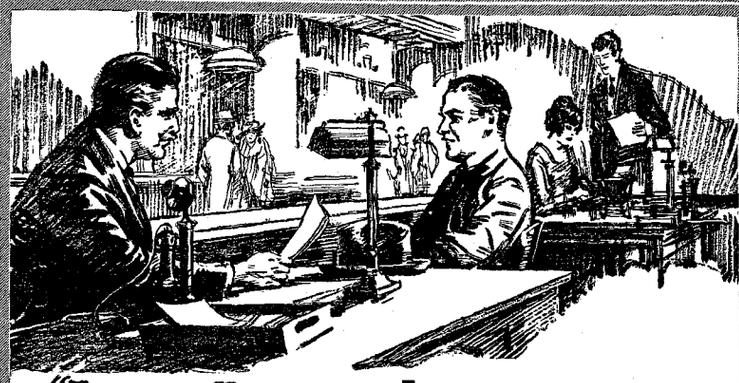

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BY THE WAY

THE editor of the London "Sphere" says regretfully that "Hansard" (the verbatim report of speeches in Parliament) has doubled its price, and he can no longer afford to subscribe for it, at a shilling a number. He adds:

> The other evening the House of Commons was treated by Mr. Asquith to a quotation from Virgil:
>
> Paribus se legibus ambae
> Invictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
>
> Now, it was said that not more than half a dozen members of the House of Commons understood Mr. Asquith, whereas in the Parliament of 1880 there would have been 300, and in early Parliaments well-nigh every member. It is a pity,, but it is the price one has to pay for democracy. The present Parliament largely consists of self-made men, and self-made men have no time for the classics.

Returning to "Hansard," the "Sphere's" editor says: "That now too expensive publication obligingly adds a translation of Mr. Asquith's quotation: 'Under equal laws may the two nations, both unconquered, be partners to an equal treaty.' Yes," he concludes, "perhaps after all 'Hansard' is indispensable."

A short and pointed sermon, a subscriber writes, was that delivered by an old man who had been unmercifully nagged by fault-finding relatives. "'There are too many on the look *out* and not enough on the look *in*,' he groaned."

The haphazard nature of the development of great cities is illustrated by the report of the Merchants' Association of New York City upon the industrial possibilities of Staten Island. The island is three times as large as Manhattan, it lies at the very entrance of New York Harbor, it has thirty-five miles of shore front, it has direct rail connections with the great trunk lines, and its land is relatively cheap. Yet it has only one-twentieth of the population of the smaller island, its wealth is relatively insignificant, and much of it is still rural rather than urban. Whatever the reasons for the island's neglect, it is said to be now destined for rapid development, with great new municipal piers to accommodate steamships, and with possibly a freight and passenger tunnel to connect it with the other boroughs of New York City.

"Why do you always send flowers?" asked one Louisville swain of another, according to the "Courier-Journal." "Because I'm not going to have her share my candy with other guys."

If any one cares to live in Germany at the present time and is willing to part with good American dollars for depreciated marks, there are said to be decided bargains to be picked up there. A newspaper despatch tells of an American who has bought a "million dollar estate" near Frankfort-on-the-Main for $9,900. That is, the estate, with its mansion, grounds, gardens, fountains, for-

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